BUILDING THE DOMINION:

GOVERNMENT ARCHITECTURE IN NEW ZEALAND,

1840-1922

A Thesis

Submitted for the Degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

in the

University of Canterbury

by

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Volume One

University of Canterbury

1997

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ABSTRACT

The evolution of the architecture of government buildings erected by the Crown's principal architectural office in New Zealand is surveyed from 1840, when New Zealand was annexed by Britain, to 1922, when its first Government Architect retired. The focus is on the emergence of a unified approach towards government architecture accross the broad range of building-types erected by the office: colonial hospitals, court houses, customs houses, departmental offices, gaols, government printing offices, lunatic asylums, native schools, police stations, post and telegraph offices, Government Houses and Parliament Buildings.

Constitutional arrangements and political initiatives which shaped the evolution and work of the office are outlined throughout the survey and form the basis of chapter divisions. In chapters one and two, the mainly primitive, timber government buildings of the Crown Colony period of government (1840-52) are considered as the first efforts of British officials to assert an architectural presence in the colony, as well as the beginnings of a New Zealand tradition of timber governmental architecture. Buildings erected by the early Superintendents of Public Works, notably William Mason (1810-97) and Frederick Thatcher (1814-90), are discussed. Chapter three documents the Crown's residual involvement in design and construction of governmental buildings from 1853 to 1868 when Provincial Governments assumed responsibility for erection of their own accommodation. Both the unrealised projects and government buildings the Crown commissioned are discussed.

The remaining chapters examine the General Government's efforts to link disparate settlements and to house the growing government

bureaucracy after centralised control of design of government buildings was reasserted in 1869. Chapter four documents the creation of the Colonial Architect's office, headed by New Zealand's first and only Colonial Architect, William Henry Clayton (1823-77), and his work designing mainly timber government buildings. It is argued that together such buildings created a unified architectural expression of government which reflected and complemented the efforts of the Colonial Treasurer, (Sir) Julius Vogel (1835-99), to 'build a nation' by assisting immigration and linking remote settlements via construction of a comprehensive road and rail network. The long decline of the Colonial Architect's office (1878-88), following Clayton's death in 1877, is traced in chapter five. Two remaining chapters examine a renewed burst of building activity initiated by the Liberal Government (1891-1912) and directed by Premier Richard John Seddon (1845-1906) and others. The emergence of the state's architectural office, headed by John Campbell (1857-1942), as the largest architectural practice in the country is documented, as well as the creation of a new architectural image of government. The Queen Anne and Imperial Baroque government buildings erected by the office are discussed and it is argued that the increasing monumentality of buildings marked New Zealand's attainment of Dominion status in 1907. The survey concludes with the construction of a new Parliament House through which the architectural message of Crown sovereignty was conveyed more emphatically than ever before.

Viewed as a whole the survey reveals that by 1922 the Government's architects had achieved what early colonial administrators envisioned as early as 1840 - the assertion through architecture of the authority of the British Crown in buildings erected in brick and stone which resembled those at 'Home', but that

New Zealand government architecture had also developed a distinctive character of its own. The use of timber (in response to budgetary constraints, its ready availability and the threat of earthquakes), an additive and piecemeal approach typical of colonial New Zealand architecture as a whole and a commitment to following British architectural fashion emerge as the characteristics of New Zealand's colonial and early Dominion government buildings. Government architecture thus emerges as a powerful expression of New Zealand's loyalty to the Crown.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First I must thank my supervisor, Dr Ian Lochhead. I owe him a large debt of gratitude incurred over many years. Not only has he supervised the research and writing of this thesis, he also supervised the final stages of the production of the M.A. thesis which sparked my interest in writing this general survey of New Zealand's government architecture. His advice on researching government buildings has been invaluable and his comments on drafts of my text have resulted in innumerable improvements.

I have also incurred a large debt of gratitude over an extended period to National Archives' Head Office, Wellington. During an initial 17 months' research phase for this thesis, National Archives' staff responded with good humour and patience to a seemingly endless stream of requests for documents. The Head Archivist (Reference), Crystal McClare, made arrangements for conservation of some fire damaged archives and reference archivists made special efforts to locate documents identified only by cryptic references in nineteenth-century correspondence registers. I am therefore especially grateful to reference staff David Bilbrough, Eamonn Bolger, Jeremy Cauchi, Vicky Fabian, Wendy Harnett, Peter Holm, Nicky Ireland, Karen Phillips, Kerri Phillips, John Roberts, Ruth Robinson and Sarah Welland. Tim Fletcher deserves special thanks for taking on the additional responsibility of arranging the photography of architectural plans.

The staffs of other institutions have likewise been unfailingly helpful. In New Zealand I am grateful to the Auckland Institute and Museum Library; Auckland Public Library; the University of Auckland's School of Architecture Library (all in

Auckland); Gisborne Museum (Gisborne); Taranaki Museum (New Plymouth); Wellington Public Library; Victoria University of Wellington Library; National Museum Te Papa Tongarewa; Parliamentary Library; Works Consultancy Services (all in Wellington); Nelson Provincial Museum (Stoke); Canterbury Public Library; Canterbury Museum Library; the Christchurch office of National Archives; James Hight Library and School of Fine Arts Reference Room, University of Canterbury (all in Christchurch); Ashburton Museum (Ashburton); North Otago Museum (Oamaru); Hocken Library, University of Otago and Otago Settlers Museum (both in Dunedin).

During a brief visit to Sydney, Dr Peter Reynolds provided advice on locating primary sources on New Zealand's early governmental architecture and the staffs of the Archives Office of New South Wales and Mitchell Library subsequently helped me locate specific documents. In London, Professor J. Mordaunt Crook likewise provided invaluable advice on sources of information about New Zealand's colonial government architecture. The staffs of the Architectural Association, British Architectural Library, British Library, General Register Office, King's College and University College, University of London, Royal Academy of Arts (all in London) and Public Records Office, Kew, subsequently provided much appreciated assistance.

Many individuals in New Zealand provided advice, information and practical help. The following deserve special thanks: Ian Bowman, Chris Cochran, Walter Cook, Barbara Fill, Terence Hodgson, Michael Kelly, Joan McKenzie, Paul Mahoney, Elaine Marland, Wayne Nelson, Mary O'Keeffe, Ann McEwan, Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, Chris Rush, Geoffrey Thornton, John Stacpoole and Pam Wilson. Those who have

provided specific information cited in the text, both within New Zealand and overseas, are listed in the bibliography. I am most grateful to all of them.

Finally, I must thank the University of Canterbury, Christchurch, for the award of a Doctoral Scholarship. The research for this thesis could never have been completed without such financial assistance.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.J.H.R.	*Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*
A.I.M.L.	Auckland Institute and Museum Library, Auckland
A.T.L.	Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington
m	metres
mm	millimetres
N.Z.I.A.	New Zealand Institute of Architects
N.Z.P.D.	*New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*
PRO	Public Records Office, Kew
R.I.B.A.	Royal Institute of British Architects

National Archives' Abbreviations

Unless otherwise stated all archives are held by National Archives, Head Office, Wellington. National Archives' abbreviations cited in the text are:

AAFV, AAMF & AAOM	G.A.I.M.S. references
AD	Army Department
IA	Internal Affairs
G	Governor-General
H	Health
MP	Marlborough Province
NM	New Munster
NP	Nelson Province
OP	Otago Province
TP	Taranaki Province
W	Works
WP	Wellington Province

Illustrations

Figures in the margins refer to illustrations in volume two.

INTRODUCTION

In June 1833 the prefabricated components of a small timber cottage were unloaded at Paihia in the Bay of Islands on the east coast of the North Island of New Zealand, to be later erected three kilometres north west at Waitangi as a British Residency.[1] The first building erected in New Zealand for a British official (James Busby (1802-71)[2]), the residency had been designed and prefabricated in Sydney after Busby was advised that it would be impossible to construct a house at the Bay of Islands using only local labour and materials.[3]

The basis for Busby's appointment, and for the construction of the house, had been established in the preceding decades. From the late eighteenth century a small but growing number of whalers, sealers, traders and escaped convicts had been visiting New Zealand, some of them settling. From 1814 mission stations had been established by missionaries hoping to exert a civilising influence on Maori and European alike. Despite their presence, as a country without 'law and order', New Zealand presented difficult problems for

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[1]Now known as the Treaty House in acknowledgement of the first signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in the grounds in front of the building in 1840. On the Treaty of Waitangi see Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Wellington, 1987, and on the significance of the site and the Treaty House in New Zealand's political and social history see Peter Shaw, *Waitangi*, Napier, 1992, especially pp. 32-66. See also Aidan Challis, 'A Preliminary Analysis of the Waitangi Treaty House' [Waimate], December 1988. (Copies held by New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington & School of Fine Arts Reference Room, University of Canterbury, Christchurch.)

[2]For a brief account of Busby's life see Claudia Orange, 'James Busby 1802-71', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One: 1769-1869* (W. H. Oliver, gen. ed.), Wellington, 1990, pp. 61-2 & for a full account Eric Ramsden, *Busby of Waitangi: H. M.'s Resident of New Zealand, 1833-40*, Wellington, 1942.

[3]After making enquiries about whether or not a portion of the materials could be purchased in New Zealand, Verge advised Busby that he could not 'depend on getting any part of them, unless you take men with you to procure them'. J. Verge to Busby, 8 November 1832, printed in Morton Herman, *The Early Australian Architects and Their Work*, Sydney, 1954, p. 172.

the European Governments whose citizens chose to visit and settle.[4] As a consequence, Busby was appointed to 'apprehend escaped convicts and to send them back [to New South Wales] for trial, to encourage trade, to assist settlers, to keep on good terms with missionaries and Maoris [sic], and to urge the chiefs to keep law and order'.[5] Since he was acting in an independent territory, not yet annexed by the British, he had no powers to arrest or take sworn testimony and soon became known as 'a man-of-war without guns'.[6]

Busby nevertheless had high expectations and hoped to obtain a comfortable house which would assert his importance. Living in Sydney from October 1832, he commissioned designs from John Verge (1782-1861),[7] one of the most fashionable of the Sydney architects.[8]

1. Verge envisaged an eleven room rectangular structure with a verandah across the front, and a separate service wing comprising a servants' room and kitchen connected by a colonnade to the main house. Scarcely lavish, the estimated cost (£592.15.4) was, however,

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[4]For a brief account of early European contact with New Zealand see J. M. R. Owens, 'New Zealand Before Annexation', *The Oxford History of New Zealand* (Geoffrey Rice, ed.), Auckland, 1992, pp. 28-53.

[5]Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, Auckland, 1991 ed., p. 51.

[6]A phrase 'apparently' first used to describe Busby in the House of Commons, Britain, c. 1838. See Ramsden, p. 75.

[7]For a brief account of John Verge's career see Harley Preston, 'Verge, John (1782-161)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Volume 2: 1788-1850* (Douglas Pike, gen. ed.), Carlton, Victoria, 1967, pp. 553-5 & for a more detailed account, James Broadbent, Ian Evans, Clive Lucas & Max Dupain, *The Golden Decade of Australian Architecture: The Work of John Verge*, Sydney, 1978.

[8]Having trained with his father, a 'successful London speculative builder', Verge was in the 1830s eagerly waited upon by the 'Colonial aristocracy' of New South Wales for 'houses in the style and fashion of England'. J. M. Freeland, *Architecture in Australia: A History*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1974 ed., p. 81. From 1832 Verge was working with John Bibb (1810-62), 'a partly trained twenty-three year old migrant architect' (*ibid.*, p. 81) who is credited with complementing some of the innate architectural skills Verge possessed. On Bibb see Morton Herman, 'Bibb, John (1810-1862)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Volume 1: 1788-1850* (Douglas Pike, gen. ed.), Carlton, Victoria, 1966, pp. 96-7.

considered excessive by the Governor of New South Wales, Sir Richard Bourke, who had been instructed by the Colonial Office that only the frame of a house on a limited scale should be provided for Busby. Accordingly, Ambrose Hallen (d. 1845),[9] Colonial Architect of New South Wales, was engaged to reduce the structure, mainly by omitting the rear rooms of the main building and the entire service wing. As erected between July 1833 and January 1834,[10] the Residency was thus itself an architectural 'man-of-war without guns'. A simple
2. hipped roof cottage with a verandah across the front and four rather than the eleven rooms first planned by Verge,[11] it was no more successful in asserting the arrival of an official British presence in New Zealand than Busby himself.

From 1840, when the British formally annexed New Zealand, the architectural message of British presence and governmental authority was asserted through architecture with increasing confidence and vigour. While primitive timber huts were erected as government offices in the 1840s, increasingly substantial structures with architectural pretensions were built as the central government administration grew in size and importance. By 1922 New Zealand's political allegiances to Britain were being celebrated in a range of Imperial Baroque government buildings of such monumentality and exuberance that even today surviving examples command attention. But whatever the degree of architectural pretension and monumentality, all of New Zealand's early government buildings represent an attempt

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[9]Morton Herman, 'Hallen, Ambrose (d.1845)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Volume 1: 1788-1850*, pp. 504-5.

[10]Busby and his wife moved in on 27 January, though the building was not finished. See Challis, p. 5.

[11]Note, however, that an out building comprising a kitchen, storeroom and servants' room was also built using local materials.

to 'build' a government and 'to support a specific regime':[12] the British Crown.

Remarkably, too, most were erected by an architectural office engaged, from colonisation until the recent past, in essentially the same range of work. First known as the office of the Superintendent of Public Works, an architectural agency re-emerged, after a lull in central government building activity, as the Colonial Architect's Office and underwent a number of name changes before becoming known as the Architectural Branch of the Public Work Department from 1890.[13] Whatever its title, it was engaged in the design, construction and maintenance of the same range of government buildings: court houses, customs houses, departmental offices, gaols, government printing offices,[14] lunatic asylums (and, in the 1840s, Colonial Hospitals), native schools, police stations, post (and telegraph)[15] offices, Government Houses and Parliament Buildings. Although the Government gradually required new building-types in the period 1840 to 1922 - notably, railway stations[16] and workers' housing[17] - separate arrangements were made for their provision

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[12]Lawrence J. Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*, London, 1992, p. 3.

[13]The Colonial Architect's Office was officially known as the Colonial Architect's Department between 1869 and 1873 and thereafter as the Colonial Architect's Branch of the Public Works Department. It was known simply as the Architect's Branch of the Public Works Department between 1878 and 1888 and the Public Buildings Department of the Defence Department in 1889-90.

[14]A Government Printing Office was part of the Government Establishment between 1843 and 1847 and again from 1867. See R. J. Pollaschek, *Government Administration in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1958, pp. 4-5.

[15]The General Government of New Zealand became responsible for erection of telegraph facilities from 1865. See Howard Robinson, *A History of the Post Office in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1964, p. 149. The Telegraph Department was transferred to the General Post Office in 1881. See *ibid.*, p. 142.

[16]For a history of the design of railway stations in New Zealand see J. D. Mahoney, *Down at the Station: A Study of the New Zealand Railway Station*, Palmerston North, 1987.

[17]On New Zealand's early workers' housing see Barbara Fill, *Seddon's State Houses, The Workers' Dwellings Act 1905 and the Heretaunga Settlement*,

rather than increasing the workload of the principal architectural office by adding to its design functions.[18]

Commitment to funding and staffing the office was fitful but by 1922 its continued growth was assured; the office which had constructed the accommodation for the departments through which a Government was 'built' was itself an integral part of the governmental infrastructure. When the first New Zealand architect to hold the title of Government Architect retired that year it was assumed, for only the first time, that a successor would be appointed immediately.

A study of the evolution of the work and evolution of the office is overdue. In 1987 the fourth Labour Government of New Zealand (1984-90) embarked on a radical restructuring of the public service, continued by its successors the 1990-6 National and National/United Governments. Perceiving government departments to be 'inefficient, privileged, self-perpetuating and in need of a good shake-up',[19] the 1984-90 Labour Government restructured many of them as State Owned Enterprises expected to 'be as profitable and efficient as a comparable private sector business, be a good employer and exhibit a sense of social responsibility'.[20] Many were sold off to private companies, some after first being restructured as State Owned Enterprises.

Wellington, 1984 & Barbara Fill, 'Homes for the People: Workers Dwellings of Christchurch', *The Past Today, Historic Places in New Zealand* (John Wilson, ed.), Auckland, 1987, pp. 148-53.

[18]One exception was native schools, added to the offices' workload in the 1870s.

[19]Jane Kelsey, *Rolling Back the State: Privatisation of Power in Aotearoa/New Zealand*, Wellington, 1993, p. 131.

[20]*Ibid.*, p. 30.

The Government's architectural office was not spared in the process. On 1 April 1988 the Ministry of Works and Development, the parent agency of the Government's then architectural office, the Architectural Division, was restructured as a State Owned Enterprise expected to compete in the commercial market-place. Some functions were transferred to other departments, staffing levels were cut and the office entirely reorganised. As Frank Ponder, a former architect with the Ministry of Works and Development, saw it, the Ministry was 'decapitated, her remains flung to the waiting, salivating departments who could not believe their luck in avoiding the same fate'.[21]

More recently these remains have themselves been sold off. In August 1996 the Government announced that it had sold the two remaining subsidiaries which comprised 'Works', Works Civil Construction and Works Consultancy Services, to foreign companies.[22] The era of state-funded public works directed by a governmental architect's office was over, yet little analysis of what the office achieved and why it existed had ever been undertaken.

Never more than an irritant to those architects in private practice who resented the dominance of a state-funded architectural office,[23] proponents of the restructuring viewed the changes as a logical part of long-overdue reforms to a dinosaur of a public sector which had become notoriously inefficient. For opponents, however, it

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[21]W. Frank Ponder, *A Man From the Ministry: Tales of a New Zealand Architect*, Christchurch, 1996, p. 158.

[22]See *Press*, 28 August 1996, p. 25 & *Dominion*, 28 August 1996, p. 2.

[23]Peter Beaven's comments on the evolution of the office conveys some sense of the resentment many architects in private practice felt at the degree of control the 'monolith of the Ministry of Works' grew to exercise. See Peter Beaven's introduction to Peter Shaw, *New Zealand Architecture From Polynesian Beginnings to 1990*, Auckland, 1991, p. 7.

was yet further evidence of the creeping privatisation of the taxpayers' assets, wrongly depleted without sufficient analysis and debate of the alternatives and with scant regard for the social costs of restructuring. According to some, institutional knowledge and skills payed for by 'generations of New Zealand taxpayers', especially in hydro-electric dam construction, would be lost to the country as a result of the privatisation of Works, but few appreciated the full extent of Works' achievements as architect and builder.

This lack of knowledge is scarcely surprising. Little has been published on governmental architecture in New Zealand. The Ministry of Works itself published a brief booklet on its architectural work in 1970[24] but it provided only a skeletal account of the subject. Five years later a more comprehensive, centennial history of public works in New Zealand (Rosslyn Noonan's *By Design: A Brief History of the Public Works Department Ministry of Works 1870-1970*)[25] appeared but its coverage of governmental architecture was also sparse.

Others have contributed to our understanding of aspects of governmental architecture in New Zealand without attempting to write a comprehensive history of the subject. Ministry of Works' architect, John Stacpoole, began to document the evolution of governmental architecture, first in his 1971 monograph on the architect William Mason,[26] New Zealand's first Superintendent of

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[24]Ministry of Works, *A Brief History of Public Buildings in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1970.

[25]Rosslyn J. Noonan, *By Design: A Brief History of the Public Works Department, Ministry of Works 1870-1970*, Wellington, 1975.

[26]John Stacpoole, *William Mason: The First New Zealand Architect*, Auckland, 1971, especially, chaps. IV & V, pp. 24-35 & on Mason's Government House, Auckland, chap. ix, pp. 56-67.

Public Works, and later (1976) in a chapter in his *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand*.[27] In addition, National Archives, in 1984, curated a modest exhibition intended to 'illustrate the wide range of architectural and building construction activity of the government during the period' 1842 to 1899.[28] A brief catalogue was produced to accompany the exhibition[29] and curator, Ken Scadden, sought to draw National Archives' collection of architectural plans of government buildings to the attention of a wider audience by presenting a paper, drawn from the text of the exhibition catalogue, to the New Zealand Mapkeepers Circle.[30] Less was done to raise awareness of the existence of National Archives' collection of plans amongst architectural historians (and politicians), though the collection was used in the preparation of two masters theses, Anna Crighton's study of the Colonial Architect, William Henry Clayton (1823-77)[31] and my own study of the work of the country's first Government Architect, John Campbell (1857-1942).[32] It was only while preparing this thesis that I came to appreciate that government architecture has a history intimately connected with the history of colonisation of New Zealand itself and that its evolution had never

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[27]John Stacpoole, *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1976, chapter IX: 'Architecture for Government', pp. 128-139.

[28]Ken Scadden & Sherrah Francis, 'The Government as Architect and Builder in Nineteenth Century New Zealand', *Archifacts*, December 1983, p. 17.

[29]*The Government as Architect and Builder in the Nineteenth Century* (Exhibition Catalogue), Wellington, 1984.

[30]Ken Scadden, 'The Government as Architect and Builder in Nineteenth Century New Zealand (1840 to 1900)', *Newsletter of the New Zealand Mapkeepers Circle*, no. 16, May 1984, pp. 15-23.

[31]S. A. Crighton, 'William Henry Clayton: Colonial Architect', M.A. Thesis (History), University of Canterbury, 1985.

[32]Peter Richardson, 'An Architecture of Empire: The Government Buildings of John Campbell in New Zealand', M.A. Thesis (Art History), University of Canterbury, 1988.

been studied in any detail. Lacking a comprehensive account of the subject, politicians in the 1980s and '90s who decided the fate of the country's governmental architect's office could not possibly have been aware of the full historical importance of the institution or the significance of their actions.

For the historian attempting to piece together a history of New Zealand's government architect's office, in contrast to a politician plotting its demise, the lack of a comprehensive account is all the more regrettable. Lacking a full account of colonial government architecture in New Zealand, there are likewise no full, published accounts of the evolution of government architecture in the other British colonies in the 'antipodes'. More has been published in Australia than in New Zealand, especially in New South Wales, but no comprehensive account of the subject has been prepared. A monograph on James Barnet, known primarily as a governmental architect, appeared in 1988[33] and monographs on architects who spent some of their careers as official architects, though rare, are nevertheless more numerous than in New Zealand - studies have appeared on Edmund Blacket[34] and William Wardell,[35] for example. Studies of court houses,[36] gaols[37] and schools[38] have been published and conservation

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[33]Peter Bridges and Don McDonald, *James Barnet, Colonial Architect*, Sydney, 1988.

[34]Joan Kerr, *Our Great Victorian Architect: Edmund Thomas Blacket (1817-1883)*, Sydney, 1983 & Morton Herman, *The Blackets: An Era of Australian Architecture*, Sydney, 1963.

[35]Ursula M. de Jong, *William Wilkinson Wardell, His Life and Work: 1823-1899* (Exhibition Catalogue), Clayton, Victoria, 1983, especially, pp. 16-23. See also Ursula M. de Jong, 'From England to Australia: The Architecture of William Wilkinson Wardell (1823-99)', Ph.D. Thesis, Monash University, 1988.

[36]Peter Bridges, *Historic Court Houses of New South Wales*, Sydney, 1986 & Marisa G. Loren, *Court Houses in Adelaide, 1837-1988* [Wagga Wagga], 1989.

[37]See James Semple Kerr, *Design for Convicts: An Account of Design for Convict Establishments in the Australian Colonies During the Transportation Era*, Sydney, 1984 & James Semple Kerr, *Out of Sight, Out of Mind:*

studies of various building-types, such as post offices, have been completed[39] but general surveys of the evolution of government architecture in a colony or state are rare: a study of some aspects of government architecture and other public works in New South Wales has been published as *Significant Sites, History and Public Works in New South Wales;*[40] Reynolds has traced the evolution of a governmental architect's office in New South Wales,[41] a report on the evolution of government architecture in Victoria has been completed[42] and an exhibition catalogue on public works in Western Australia has been published.[43] However, for none of the antipodean colonies has a survey been prepared that can be compared with the scholarly comprehensiveness of the six volume *History of the King's Works* in Britain.[44] Although necessarily different from the *King's Works* in focus and approach, this study attempts to provide a comparable, one volume, general survey of the work and evolution of the Crown's principal architectural office in New Zealand between 1840 and 1922.

Australia's Places of Confinement, 1788-1988 (Exhibition Catalogue), Sydney, 1988.

[38]Lawrence Burchell, *Victorian Schools: A Study in Colonial Government Architecture, 1837-1900*, Melbourne, 1980.

[39]See, for example, Meredith Walker, Peter Marquis-Kyle & Richard Allom, 'Historic Post Offices of Queensland: A National Estate Study', (research by Meredith Walker, Michael Barnet & Lindy Crofts), Queensland, 1983. (Copy held Department of Architecture, University of Queensland.)

[40]Leonore Coltheart (ed.), *Significant Sites, History and Public Works in New South Wales*, Sydney, 1989.

[41]Peter Legget Reynolds, 'The Evolution of the Government Architect's Branch of the New South Wales Department of Public Works 1788-1911', Ph.D. Thesis (Architecture), University of New South Wales, Sydney, 1972.

[42]Bruce Trethowan, 'Public Works Department of Victoria 1851-1900', Research Report, Department of Architecture & Building, University of Melbourne, 1975.

[43]*Creating the Public Realm: Public Architecture in Western Australia, 1890-2000* (Exhibition Catalogue), Perth, 1994.

[44]H. M. Colvin (gen. ed.), *The History of the King's Works* (6 vols.), London, 1963-82.

Limitations in the scope of the survey must nevertheless be imposed; not all of New Zealand's early government buildings warrant inclusion in a study of the evolution of the work of a centralised architectural office. The way in which New Zealand's constitution evolved resulted in some devolution of responsibility for design of government buildings without any general oversight by the central administration. In broad outline, from 14 January 1840 New Zealand was a dependency of New South Wales, an arrangement made to simplify annexation, the country being formally annexed by the British on 21 May 1840[45] but remaining a dependency of New South Wales until 16 November that year. From that date, until 1853, New Zealand was governed as a Crown Colony in its own right. A centralised construction and architectural agency, the office of the Superintendent of Public Works, was set up while New Zealand was a dependency of New South Wales and existed after formal annexation.

However, in 1853, when representative institutions were being established, the office ceased to exist. Under the 1852 Constitution Act New Zealand was divided into six provinces each with a Provincial Council which became responsible for, among other functions, the provision of their own governmental buildings. A General Assembly retained responsibility for those government buildings it required for its own use, notably a Parliament and Government House, and it maintained a residual interest in some buildings erected between 1853 and 1868. In 1869 it assumed the dominant role in directing the design and construction of government buildings independent of any constitutional change. The Provincial Governments were, in any case,

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[45]For a brief account of the reasons for British annexation of New Zealand see Sinclair, pp. 52-69. For a full account see Peter Adams, *Fatal Necessity: British Intervention in New Zealand, 1830-1847*, Auckland, 1977.

abolished in 1876 and although some, notably Canterbury[46] and Otago, had in the meantime built impressive governmental buildings there was no national strategy for their design and construction. Accordingly, although the residual involvement of the General Government in the design of some buildings is discussed when provincial government's were responsible for their own public works (1853-68), buildings erected by the provincial governments themselves are not documented. The works erected by other governmental bodies which made provision for their own accommodation independent of centralised control are likewise excluded from the survey, namely those built by local councils, Education Boards[47] and the Defence and Railways Departments.

In contrast, one phase of the Government's building activity - the work of the Superintendents of Public Works (1840-52) - receives more attention than some would argue it warrants. For those who adhere to the belief that 'A bicycle shed is a building; Lincoln Cathedral is a piece of architecture,'[48] the inclusion of most of New Zealand's government buildings of the 1840s in a survey of the country's government architecture will doubtless be perplexing; most of these buildings were so rudimentary they could not even have served as adequate bicycle sheds. However, their collective importance in establishing a governmental infrastructure in a rugged,

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[46]See Ian James Lochhead, 'The Early Works of Benjamin Mountfort 1850-1865', M.A. Thesis (Art History), University of Auckland, 1975, especially chaper four, pp. 61-87.

[47]For an account of the school buildings erected by the South Auckland Education Board see John Warwick Kellaway, *From Schoolhouse to Classpace in the Waikato-Bay of Plenty* [Hamilton, 1981].

[48]Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex (1943), seventh edition, 1982, p. 15. Pevsner continues 'Nearly everything that encloses space for a human being to move in is a building; the term architecture applies only to buildings designed with a view to aesthetic appeal'.

bush-clad land where a bicycle shed would be almost as incongruous as Lincoln Cathedral - in building a new nation - invests them with a significance which belies their modest appearance. Although primitive, such buildings represent the first attempts to transplant in New Zealand the craft traditions, prefabricated building technology and innate notions of architectural form and style which constitute the beginnings of a new architectural tradition in a young colony.

In any case, most of these early government buildings of the 1840s - some of the first European structures built in New Zealand - have never been documented before. This is all the more surprising because, although only one of these buildings survives,[49] it is possible to know more, from documentary sources, about the way in which they were constructed than it is about many buildings which still stand today.[50] The specifications survive which, for example, reveal how the Colonial Hospitals at Auckland (1847) and New Plymouth (1847-8) were erected (and that the method of construction has hitherto been misunderstood)[51] but not the documents which would add to our knowledge about the steel frame used in the construction of the Public Trust Office, Wellington, erected as recently as 1906-9.[52]

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[49]The former Colonial Hospital, New Plymouth (1847-8), now known as the Gables. On this building see chapter two, pp. 90-104.

[50]A fire in the Hope Gibbons Building, Wellington, where New Zealand's governmental archives were housed, resulted in the destruction of most of the Public Works Department correspondence files for the years 1870-1910. For a discussion of holdings of governmental archives on government buildings at National Archives, Wellington, see Appendix II.

[51]On the construction of the Auckland and New Plymouth Colonial Hospitals see chapter two, pp. 96-8.

[52]On the Public Trust Office, Wellington, see chapter seven, pp. 305-11. On the difficulties and additional expense anticipated in devising a suitable conservation strategy for the Public Trust Office because of the lack of documentary evidence of the steel-frame construction of the building see Chris Cochran, 'The Need to Preserve Architectural Archives: A User's View', *Archifacts*, December 1979, p. 250.

We therefore have a fuller documentary record of some aspects of many government buildings which have long since disappeared than of those late Victorian and Edwardian buildings which still stand in our city centres.

Although the surviving archival record shapes our understanding of New Zealand's government architecture in some surprising ways, it is immediately apparent - both from the archives and the buildings themselves - that there was no long-term strategy for the provision of governmental accommodation, its architectural imagery or iconography. Rather, New Zealand's government architecture evolved in a mainly reactive way in response to settlement patterns and the ideas about the state's function as architect and builder that officials brought with them from Britain and further developed while in New Zealand. Both warrant some discussion before surveying the evolution of New Zealand's government architecture itself.

Most of New Zealand's early British settlements were established by the New Zealand Company,[53] a private, profit-making group which had its origins in a scheme conceived by Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796-1862).[54] The Company was to be responsible for sending more than 8,500 people to the country in its first and most concentrated phase of activity in the colony in 1839-43. Wakefield's overall aim was the foundation of colonies through transportation of a cross section of English society and he developed elaborate theories of colonisation through which this was to be achieved.

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[53]On the New Zealand Company see Patricia Burns, *Fatal Success: A History of the New Zealand Company* (Henry Richardson, ed.), Auckland, 1989.

[54]For a brief account of Wakefield see Miles Fairburn, 'Wakefield, Edward Gibbon 1796-1862', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One: 1769-1869* (W. H. Oliver, gen. ed.), Wellington, 1990, pp. 572-5.

According to Wakefield, the social hierarchy of the old world could be perpetuated in the new by acquiring large blocks of cheap land to be sold off at a 'sufficient price', a price low enough to encourage rich settlers yet high enough to prevent labourers immediately becoming land owners. Had it succeeded Wakefield's scheme would have resulted in the instant establishment of well ordered 'English' settlements in which the social hierarchy could be read in a cross-section of English buildings ranging from the vernacular cottages of the labouring poor to the architect-designed mansions of wealthy land owners and administrative offices of the governing elite.

The first New Zealand settlement in which Wakefield's ideas were tested was established along Cooks Strait, the first three ship loads of settlers leaving Gravesend for the new town - to be named Wellington[55] - in September 1839. A code of law was agreed by the settlers before leaving and a plan for the new town was drawn up with sites designated for public offices.[56] In January 1840 the settlers began arriving at Port Nicholson, the site of the prospective town, and began setting up their own government.

It was mainly in response to this colonising venture that on 21 May 1840 British sovereignty was proclaimed over the whole of New Zealand. Only slowly, however, did the Crown assert an architectural presence in the fledgling town - few government buildings were erected in Wellington until the mid 1840s.[57] Moreover, in practice Wakefield's ideas, at best only partially successful, did not find

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[55]It was, however, first intended to call the town Britannia.

[56]For a brief account of this plan see Michael Austin, 'Notes on The Colonial City', *Fabrications*, vol. 2:3, December 1991, p. 37.

[57]For an account of the early history of Wellington see David Hamer, 'Wellington on the Urban Frontier', *The Making of Wellington 1800-1914* (David Hamer, ed.), Wellington, 1990, pp. 227-54.

architectural expression. The small extemporised huts, crude prefabricated houses and other structures that in the first instance provided shelter for both rich and poor,[58] confirmed that there was to be no 'instant civilisation', the process of recreating (and improving on) the old world in the new was to be more protracted and less successful than Wakefield envisioned; as the settlers soon realised they would have to accept relatively primitive conditions for some time. It was in this spirit that, in 1842, the fledgling town's newspaper, the *New Zealand Gazette*, published a satirical report on the 'total destruction of the Police office, court-house, post-office, county court, courts of justice, and the church' at Port Nicholson, and the apparently deliberate destruction of the public office at Petone (where the first New Zealand Company settlers landed)[59] describing it as 'a serious loss to the inhabitants, as the value of the buildings alone is estimated at the enormous sum of five pounds'.[60]

In relatively quick succession, however, the New Zealand Company established the settlements of Wanganui,[61] virtually an off-shoot of the Wellington settlement, and Nelson (1841) in the South Island.[62] A short-lived subsidiary, the Plymouth Company, was responsible for establishing the town of New Plymouth on the east

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[58]On the early housing stock of the European settlers see Jeremy Salmond, *Old New Zealand Houses 1800-1940*, Auckland, 1986, especially pp. 27-86.

[59]When it was discovered that this site flooded the settlers shifted across the harbour to the site on which the town of Wellington was founded.

[60]*New Zealand Gazette*, 6 July 1842, p. 3.

[61]On the early establishment of Wanganui see J. G. Smart & A. P. Bates, *The Wanganui Story*, Wanganui, 1972.

[62]On the early establishment of Nelson see Ruth M. Allan, *Nelson: A History of Early Settlement* (J. C. Beaglehole, ed.), Wellington, 1965.

coast of the North Island, also in 1841.[63] Despite the relatively rapid establishment of new settlements, in none did the Crown immediately assert an architectural presence and in none did a sufficient number of rich migrants arrive with the capital which would allow an architectural profession to flourish immediately. Rather, wealthy investors preferred to stay at home, hoping to make money on their investment in New Zealand land from afar. In Nelson where the New Zealand Company was forced to reallocate land to labourers to set up on small farms, the characteristic settlements were 'small homogenous rural communities'.[64] If any structure asserted sovereignty in such settlements, it was an Anglican church not a government building.[65]

Though disappointed with these early experiments in systematic colonisation, the missing ingredient in Wakefield's view was not Crown control but rather religious cohesion. He therefore supported two further colonising ventures with religious backing; the Otago Association's plan for a settlement backed by the Free Church of Scotland and the Canterbury Association's plan for a Church of England settlement. Religious exclusiveness was disallowed by the Colonial Office but the Otago Association's town of Dunedin (established in 1848)[66] was at first predominantly Presbyterian and the Canterbury Association's town of Christchurch (established in

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[63]On the early establishment of New Plymouth see R. G. Wood, *From Plymouth to New Plymouth*, Wellington, 1959.

[64]Frances Porter, *Historic Buildings of New Zealand: South Island*, Auckland, 1983, p. 10.

[65]See, for example, St John's, Wakefield (1846), Waimea West (1867), Holy Trinity, Richmond (1872, with later additions) & St Michael's, all in the province of Nelson.

[66]On the early establishment of Dunedin see Erik Olssen, *A History of Otago*, Dunedin, 1984, pp. 31-70.

1850),[67] Anglican. Though the promise of instant civilisation was no better fulfilled in Dunedin and Christchurch than in the other Wakefield settlements, the founding ideals survived in their buildings rather better than in the earlier towns. In Dunedin, where the Scottish settlers envisaged the early establishment of educational institutions, Maxwell Bury's University of Otago building (1879), modelled on Sir George Gilbert Scott's Glasgow University (1870), expressed (albeit belatedly) some of the founding ideals of the city's Scottish settlers.[68] Likewise, some of the public and ecclesiastical buildings of Christchurch revealed, via their construction in the Gothic style - the 'national style' of England - the aspirations of Canterbury's founders to transplant in the South Pacific a 'New Old England'.[69]

Whatever the degree to which the various colonising ventures were faithful to Wakefield's ideals, the establishment of small, independent and scattered settlements throughout New Zealand was not conducive to the immediate assertion and architectural expression of Crown control. While sites for Crown buildings were designated in the new towns, characteristically they were neither the most central nor prominent. In Wellington, sites for government buildings were

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[67]On the Canterbury Association and the founding of the Canterbury settlement see J. Hight & C. R. Straubel, *A History of Canterbury*, vol. 1, Christchurch, 1957, pp. 149-223.

[68]On Bury's University of Otago building see Dorothy Ballantyne, 'Educational Buildings of Otago', *Historic Buildings of New Zealand: South Island* (Frances Porter, ed.), Auckland, 1983, p. 171 & W. P. Morrell, *The University of Otago: A Centennial History*, Dunedin, 1969, pp. 49-50.

[69]On some of these buildings see Ian James Lochhead, 'The Early Works of Benjamin Mountfort 1850-1865', M.A. Thesis (Art History), University of Auckland, 1975; Tony Ussher, Grant Wilkinson, John Hare, Allan Rackham, Roger Bridge, Chris Cochran & Roger Warr, *Canterbury Provincial Council Buildings Conservation Plan* [Christchurch], 1991 & Jonathan Mané, 'Pilgrim Churches', John Hendry, 'Provincial Christchurch' & W. A. J. Brittenden 'Canterbury Provincial Government Buildings' in *Historic Buildings of New Zealand: South Island* (Frances Porter, ed.), Auckland, 1983, pp. 68-99.

found mainly at one end of the ribbon development along the foreshore and on reclaimed land; in Christchurch, 'permanent' government buildings were erected on the perimeter of Cathedral Square (regarded as the town's centre from the 1870s) while an Anglican Cathedral formed its centre-piece.[70] Similarly, while municipal government found a permanent home in the Octagon[71] (which became Dunedin's focal point), permanent government buildings were constructed nearby in Princes, Castle and Stuart Streets.

Though settlement patterns (and the evolution of New Zealand's constitution) provided the framework within which a governmental architecture developed in New Zealand, it was the models for administration of public works that its public officials brought with them to the colony that ultimately shaped its development. Not all their ideas were conducive to the immediate transplantation of the practice of government architecture in the colony. Enlightened British officials of the 1840s and '50s appreciated the need to construct purpose-built gaols, asylums and court houses but most in the 1840s still remembered government departments in London 'accommodated wholly or in part in rented houses built for [a] family living in the normal vertical London manner'.[72] Of course, they also retained strong impressions of the larger London governmental buildings, notably William Chambers' Somerset House (1776-80, wings completed 1835 and 1856) but such buildings were conceived on a scale

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[70]On Christchurch Cathedral see I. J. Lochhead, 'Gilbert Scott, Benjamin Mountfort and the Building of Christchurch Cathedral', *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, vol. 4, 1976, pp. 3-15.

[71]In R. A. Lawson's Municipal Chambers (1878-80). On this building see J. N. Mane-Wheoki, '"From the Athens of the North" to the "Edinburgh of the South": The Architecture of Robert Arthur Lawson', *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, vol. 13, 1992, p. 11.

[72]M. H. Port, *Imperial London: Civil Government Building in London 1851-1915*, New Haven & London, 1995, p. 26.

entirely inappropriate to New Zealand's needs. Moreover, a commitment to long-term planning for supply of office buildings was not immediately inherited from Britain. Since British politicians were only in the nineteenth century to become used to the need for accommodation 'constantly outstripping the supply of purpose-built premises' in response to the 'inexorable growth of state activity',[73] it is scarcely surprising that there was a similar failure in New Zealand to recognise the expansionist dynamic of government administration and to plan ahead for the construction of government buildings.

The arguments used to defer and limit expenditure on government office buildings had also been rehearsed in Britain before being aired in New Zealand. According to one line of argument government offices were 'merely factories for the production of documents for the most part ephemeral'[74] and therefore need not be housed in impressive and costly buildings. In opposition to this view, others argued 'that government buildings set forth the dignity of the state, [and] represented it in the eyes of the nation and the world'.[75] In New Zealand, as in Britain, politicians were more likely to be convinced of the need for new government buildings if it could be shown that improvements in efficiency would accrue from the investment in construction.

The organisational structures and processes New Zealand established for the construction of government buildings were likewise derived from Britain. Most early British settlers would

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[73] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

have had some recollection of the prestigious architectural competitions held there, notably the 1835 competition for the Houses of Parliament, Westminster. Such competitions were for larger buildings than New Zealand required but New Zealand's administrators nevertheless brought with them from Britain a strong faith in the architectural market-place to throw up suitable designs.

They also brought a strong appreciation of the importance of a governmental architecture and construction agency to erect government buildings - an agency through which a unified approach towards the design of government buildings was more likely to emerge than via one-off competitions. It was knowledge, however hazy and incomplete, of the operations of H. M. Office of Works that underpinned the early evolution of Crown government architecture in New Zealand.

Some parallels between the British and New Zealand offices can be drawn, though despite a general kinship there were few direct connections. No correspondence flowed between the offices and the scale of colonial New Zealand operations was minute in comparison with the King's works in Britain. The number of staff was thus correspondingly small. In 1872/3, for example, H. M. Office of Works employed 131 staff;[76] in the same year New Zealand's Colonial Architect's Department employed one architect in a permanent post (the Colonial Architect) a couple of temporary assistants and a cadet.[77] Consequently, in New Zealand individual government architects were responsible for a range of work which in Britain would have been divided amongst specialist staff.

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[76] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

[77] Towards the end of 1873 the Department also employed an accountant. See chapter four, pp. 214-5.

In any case, British administrators brought with them to New Zealand not one fixed model for the establishment of a governmental architect's office but rather a range of options and views which were themselves being developed and explored in Britain in the nineteenth century. By 1840 the Office of Works was effectively a sub-department of the Commission of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues, the department responsible for the Crown Estate.[78] The Surveyor of Works and Buildings performed the key professional role in the Office of Works, engaged in considering

> all plans, estimates, specifications, and tenders for works intended to be undertaken, as to the prices charged for materials and wages, and in the re-examination of any works or accounts which may be delivered into the Office; but of the correctness of which any doubts may be entertained.[79]

Responsibility for design and supervision of works and major repairs was delegated by the Commission to specially appointed architects in private practice - Edward Blore at Buckingham Palace, for example.

In 1851, eleven years after the annexation of New Zealand, the Office of Works was reconstituted as 'a ministry under full parliamentary control'.[80] Separated from Woods and Forests, the 'framework of the mid- and late-Victorian Office of Works'[81] was created by Sir Benjamin Hall (1802-67), First Commissioner of Works (1855-8). Hall reintroduced the market place principle of open competition for government commissions in 1856, while also appointing, on a part-time basis, a leading surveyor, Henry Hunt, as

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[78]The Offices of Works, and of Woods, Forests and Land Revenues, had been united in 1832 under a Board of three Commissioners.

[79]PRO, Works 1/20, pp. 37-41, 19 June 1832 as quoted in J. Mordaunt Crook & M. H. Port, *The History of the King's Works*, vol. VI, 1782-1851 (H. M. Colvin, gen. ed.), London, 1973, p. 186.

[80]*Ibid.*, H. M. Colvin, 'Editor's Preface', p. ix.

[81]Port, p. 61.

his adviser, marginalising the architect, James Pennethorne (1801-71), who had been engaged as Sole Architect and Surveyor to the Board in 1845.[82]

In broad outline, these developments prefigure those in New Zealand. The transition of H. M. Office of Works, once a department of the Royal household, to a ministry in full parliamentary control, was to be echoed in New Zealand where a state-funded architectural office moved from being a department of the Governor's administration during the period of Crown Colony government (1840-1853), to an office responsible to the New Zealand Parliament as a result of the establishment of representative institutions in 1854. Also, the Commission's practice of patronising favoured architects to design specific works and Hall's reliance on competitions was mirrored in New Zealand and provides the context within which the somewhat ambivalent attitude of New Zealand politicians towards adequately funding and staffing an architectural office must been seen.

The models for the early evolution of the New Zealand office were not, however, derived from Britain alone. The pattern of development had already been set in other colonies, notably New South Wales. Again, the function and importance of a governmental architect's office was fundamentally different in an Australian penal colony populated by the Crown and in New Zealand where a private, profit-making company began establishing its own settlements. Nevertheless the attitudes of New Zealand administrators towards the

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[82]Pennethorne continued to serve both Works and Woods and Forests after the reorganisation of 1851 and did not retire until 1870. However, he would not comment on the work of fellow architects. For a full account of Pennethorne's career see Geoffrey Tyack, *Sir James Pennethorne and the Making of Victorian London*, Cambridge, 1992. Pennethorne's duties, as established through internal inquiry in 1859, are detailed in *ibid.*, p. 137.

construction of government buildings was, in the first instance, shaped by what they had seen and knew of developments in New South Wales.

As we shall see, the origins of New Zealand's architectural and construction agency - the office of the Superintendent of Public Works - can be traced back to New South Wales since New Zealand's first Superintendent of Public Works was appointed from Sydney[83] (and New Zealand was, in any case, originally a dependency of the colony). Even without this direct linkage, however, the New Zealand and New South Wales offices had much in common. The activities of both were originally shaped by British Governors and both were necessarily engaged in similar work; the construction of governmental buildings in 'new lands' and the assertion, through architecture, of a sense of governmental authority and control.

At its simplest the kinship of the offices is revealed by the titles of their staff. In the colonies the antiquarian title of 'Surveyor of Works', used to describe an architect in H. M. Office of Works until 1901, was immediately dispensed with.[84] Instead, in Australia, the 'positions went by a variety of names... Colonial, Government or Civil Architect, Town or Government Surveyor, Inspector of Public Buildings, Supervisor of Works, and a great variety of other combinations of the words'.[85] Likewise, in New Zealand a Superintendent of Public Works was appointed in 1840, a Colonial Architect in 1869 and a Government Architect in 1909, as well as

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[83]See chapter one, pp. 32-3.

[84]The title of Surveyor was changed in Britain from 'Surveyor' to 'Architect and Surveyor' in 1901, the title Surveyor being 'misleading and an anachronism'. See Port, p. 76.

[85]J. M. Freeland, *The Making of a Profession: A History of the Growth and Works of the Architectural Institutes in Australia, Sydney, 1971*, p. 13.

numerous Assistant Architects and draftsmen. In the way the offices were organised, too, the antipodean colonies invite comparison. In New Zealand, as in the Australian colonies, an architectural office was to 'move in and out of the control of other departments... from complete independence to complete obliteration and obscurity in a small back room of some octopus department'.[86] Finally, 'the normal pattern' that emerged in both countries 'was one in which the Colonial Architect headed a department side by side with an Engineer's Department, with both of them combined in a Department of Works'.[87] Distinctly colonial in character, the offices in both countries were able to evolve to this mature form because the private sector was too small and insufficiently organised in colonial settlements to carry out large public works.

Similar to the state-funded architectural offices of the adjacent British colonies, New Zealand's architectural office nevertheless developed a distinctive character of its own. Arriving in an isolated, heavily forested, sparsely populated, earthquake-prone country, the Crown's representatives and their architects were faced with a unique set of challenges which demanded new responses in asserting Crown authority and erecting the government buildings necessary to establish essential public services. Dismissed as an irrelevancy today, the state-funded architectural office set up to undertake this work was once an essential governmental agency. Playing its part in developing the country as a British nation - in 'building' the state - the office erected some of the finest public buildings in New Zealand. By surveying its origins and early

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[86] *Ibid.*

[87] *Ibid.*

evolution we can better appreciate the quality of its work in the early years of European settlement. We can better understand, too, why the office grew to monolithic proportions only to be perceived as a 'dinosaur' ready for extinction in the 1990s.

CHAPTER ONE

'Useful, Plain and Solid': The Governors' Buildings (1840-45)

From 16 November 1840 (when New Zealand ceased to be a dependency of New South Wales) until 1846 (when the first internal reorganisation of public works was carried out in New Zealand)[1] there were three tiers to the government bureaucracy responsible for the design and construction of government buildings in the colony: the Colonial Office, the Governor and the Superintendent of Public Works. The government buildings they erected were expressive of the early constitutional and political connections between New Zealand and New South Wales - and New Zealand and Britain, home for most of the immigrants. Primarily, however, they reflected the crude conditions in which the early European settlers lived; few works with any architectural pretensions were built. The simple, utilitarian structures that were erected nevertheless set the standard against which subsequent government buildings would be judged and laid the foundations for the evolution of a timber governmental architecture in New Zealand.

The Colonial Office instructions which influenced the design of government buildings were of the most general kind. In July 1840 James Stephen, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for War and Colonies,[2] drafted a despatch to Lieutenant Governor Hobson which summed up the Office's position. Stephen acknowledged that

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[1]On the reorganisation see chapter two, pp. 75-6.

[2]For a list of Stephen's official appointments in the Colonial Office see J. C. Sainty (comp.), *Office Holders in Modern Britain VI: Colonial Office Officials*, London, 1946, p. 49.

> To those who have so lately quitted the wealthiest, and one of the most Ancient of the Monarchies of Europe, it is difficult to dis-sociate the feelings of loyalty to their Sovereign, and of attachment of their Mother Country, from the desire for those refinements by which the throne is surrounded, and the Kingdom at large is embellished. And there is much that is praise-worthy in the wish thus to imitate the customs of England in the splendour of Public Buildings and other works dedicated to Public uses. But for those things, the time is, as yet, unripe in New Zealand.[3]

Rather,

> At the commencement, and for some years afterwards, we must be content with what is useful, plain and solid, remitting to a future day what is merely ornamental. The homage which in the Great States of Europe, waits on the visible pomp and splendour of Royalty, will be yielded (so far as its appropriate or useful) to the Govr of a Colony, especially of an infant colony, who aims at nothing beyond the decencies of a private or moderate Establishment.[4]

When revising the despatch Stephen's superior, Lord John Russell, the Secretary of State for War and Colonies,[5] thought better of equating the homage European royalty and a colonial governor could expect and deleted the reference from Stephen's draft. Russell also struck out reference to imitating 'the customs of England in the splendour of Public Buildings'. But even in revised form the message the despatch conveyed was clear; it was both necessary and virtuous that the needs of a young colony be met by the simplest, least expensive means. Further, this was merely a natural and inevitable developmental stage through which colonies pass, like infancy. Stephen and Russell's written instructions were scarcely necessary, however. The economies they had imposed on the colony were so stringent that only the

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[3]PRO, CO 209/8, f. 474.

[4]PRO, CO 209/8, as quoted in A. H. McLintock, *Crown Colony Government in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1958, p. 116, & J. S. Marais, *The Colonisation of New Zealand*, Oxford, 1927, p. 228.

[5]Lord John Russell was Secretary of State for War and Colonies from September 1839 to September 1841 & 1 May to 21 July 1855. See Sainty, p. 48. He was Prime Minister of Great Britain from July 1846 to February 1852.

simplest governmental buildings could be constructed. Although they recognised that some aid would be necessary to set up the colony in its first year,[6] they expected the expenses of the civil administration of New Zealand to be met entirely by the colony itself through land sales and customs duties.

The Governors who carried out the Colonial Office's instructions between 1840 and 1845, the naval officers William Hobson (1792-1842)[7] and Robert Fitzroy (1805-65), had higher aspirations, if not for the civil administration as a whole, then certainly for their own accommodation. Both had travelled widely before being appointed and were therefore familiar with the primitive conditions on the expanding frontiers of the British Empire and elsewhere that they were to confront in New Zealand.

Hobson's experience of British colonies was especially extensive. He was involved in the Napoleonic Wars and was part of the squadron which took Napoleon to exile on St. Helena, eventually seeing 'duty in all the major naval stations of the Empire'.[8] It was after being appointed commander of the frigate *Rattlesnake* in 1836 (through the influence of Lord Auckland) that he first set foot in New Zealand. Ordered to the Port Phillip District (Victoria) to assist in exploration and the settlement of Williamstown (Melbourne),[9] Hobson was sent to New Zealand in 1837 when Busby

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[6]For sources of aid to the colony in the years 1840-3 see *Parliamentary Papers* [Great Britain], 1844, vol. XXXIV, 778.

[7]Hobson's initial appointment was as Consul, though he adopted the title Lieutenant Governor on arriving in New Zealand in 1840. His official title became Governor in November 1840 when New Zealand became a British colony in its own right.

[8]Erik Olssen & Marcia Stenson, *A Century of Change: New Zealand 1800-1900*, Auckland, 1989, p. 72.

[9]Guy H. Scholefield, *Captain William Hobson: First Governor of New Zealand*, London, 1934, p. 54.

reported that war between Maori tribes threatened Europeans. Visiting the Bay of Islands, 'several other parts of the eastern coast',[10] and Cook Strait, Hobson 'met Busby, and spoke with missionaries, prominent settlers and Maori leaders',[11] before returning to Britain to report on the situation.

While in New Zealand, Hobson would have seen many of the modest, hipped roof, Georgian structures erected by early European settlers in the country - notably, the British Residency, Waitangi (1833), Kemp House (1818-21) and the Stone Store (1832-6) both in Kerikeri, as well as the Waimate North Mission House (1830). He would also have seen the makeshift dwellings in which some European traders, whalers and others were living. On his later (1839) appointment to New Zealand he therefore knew at first hand much of the European building stock of his prospective colony.

For Hobson the challenges of establishing British sovereignty and erecting the buildings from which to govern were compounded by poor health. Soon after taking up his appointment in New Zealand he suffered a stroke; he died after suffering a further stroke in 1842. While the Colonial Office made arrangements for his replacement, Willoughby Shortland (1804-69), Hobson's former Colonial Secretary, acted as administrator. His brief administration was marred by the Wairau Affray[12] and he made only a minor contribution to the evolution of government architecture in New Zealand.

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[10]Captain W. Hobson, 'Report on the State of New Zealand, 1837' as reprinted in Scholefield, p. 194.

[11]Kenneth A. Simpson, 'Hobson, William 1792-1842', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One:* 1769-1869 (W. H. Oliver, gen. ed.), Wellington, 1990, p. 197.

[12]On the Wairau Affray, 'the first violent clash to take place after 1840 between Maori and European' see Ruth M. Allan, *Nelson: A History of Early Settlement* (J. C. Beaglehole, ed.), Wellington, 1965, pp. 241-63 & James Bellich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland, 1986, p. 21.

FitzRoy was more significant. When he arrived to take up the post of Governor in February 1843 he was, like Hobson, already familiar with some parts of the colony. As commander of H.M.S. *Beagle*, which surveyed the coasts of Patagonia, Tierra del Fuego and the Straits of Magellan, he also, in 1835, visited the Bay of Islands, reporting favourably on the work of the Church Missionary Society. Of their buildings, he was less impressed. At Paihia he was 'saddened to find that a fine stone building was not the Anglican church'. 'Would not', he said, 'a little outward show do any harm amongst such ignorant human beings as the savages of New Zealand?'[13] Fully aware of the potential of architecture to communicate a sense of political and spiritual sovereignty, he had himself lived in Britain in grand architectural settings. Born in Ampton Hall, Suffolk,[14] he was connected by birth with 'the upper echelons of the aristocracy'[15] and during his childhood lived in 'an imposing house', Wakefield Lodge, Northamptonshire, described as being of Palladian design.[16]

Thus with the appointment of both Hobson and FitzRoy New Zealand was governed by naval officers familiar with parts of the country prior to their appointment, especially the northern settlements. Both had first-hand knowledge of some of the European buildings already erected in the colony, some personal impression of

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[13]FitzRoy as quoted in H. E. L. Mellersh, *FitzRoy of the Beagle*, London, 1968, pp. 165-6.

[14]Ampton Hall burned down in 1885 but was subsequently rebuilt. See Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Suffolk* (revised by Enid Radcliffe), Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1975, p. 76.

[15]Ian Wards, 'FitzRoy, Robert 1805-1865', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One: 1769-1869* (W. H. Oliver, gen. ed.), Wellington, 1990, p. 130.

[16]Wards, p. 130 & Mellersh, p. 30.

the building materials available (notably timber) as well as a general knowledge of the buildings of fledgling British colonial communities in other parts of the British Empire. Their expectations of the kinds of extemporised and primitive structures which would have to serve their administrations in New Zealand were therefore fully realistic.

Although equally well-suited to their posts, the Superintendents of Public Works appointed to supervise construction of the first government buildings were colonial itinerants of a very different kind. Rather than being posted to New Zealand, most had made their own way to the colony hoping to establish a better and more prosperous life in the new world than they had experienced in the old. Since most of the small timber-frame buildings they were required to erect could have been designed by a competent builder,[17] it was scarcely important that they had architectural training. Few of them did, but all were capable of erecting at least temporary shelter.

Arguing that British civil servants would demand higher wages than their colonial counterparts, the Colonial Office instructed Hobson to recruit staff in New South Wales to administer New Zealand as a dependency of that colony. Accordingly, on his way to New Zealand Hobson spent three weeks in Sydney where he received his instructions from the Governor of New South Wales, Sir George Gipps,

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[17]As well as designing simple timber structures Superintendents supervised construction of prefabricated buildings, made recommendations on tenders to the Governor and ensured that construction was completed satisfactorily. They also had responsibility for some works which had only a peripheral connection with building design and maintenance: supply and delivery of firewood to government offices, development and maintenance of domains and, at various times, tending government livestock.

and selected staff 'from the restricted choice which the public service then offered'.[18]

When Hobson set sail for New Zealand on 18 January 1840 he had with him a Controller of Customs and Treasurer (George Cooper) and a Surveyor (Felton Mathew) from Sydney as well as several staff who, despite Colonial Office instructions, accompanied him from Britain.[19] The following month, in Sydney, an architect in the Colonial Architect's Department, William Mason (1810-97), was offered employment as 'Clerk of Works New Zealand',[20] a post later referred to as Superintendent of Public Works. It is unclear whether the delay in making the offer was a result of protracted negotiations or some indecision about whether or not a Clerk of Works should be appointed.[21] Regardless, Mason quickly joined Hobson's first recruits, arriving in the Bay of Islands on 17 March (about two months after Hobson's arrival). His post, like that of other civil servants, was designated 'acting', though it was anticipated that a permanent appointment would be made when, and if, British sovereignty of New Zealand was proclaimed.

Mason brought exactly that mix of British and colonial experience to the superintendence of public works that was to typify government building in New Zealand in the early years of British settlement. Born at Ipswich, Suffolk, he was later placed 'at the

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[18]Guy H. Scholefield, *Captain William Hobson: First Governor of New Zealand*, p. 80.

[19]Also on board was Willoughby Shortland (first appointed Police Magistrate, but later Colonial Secretary) and James Stuart (Acting Private Secretary).

[20]Colonial Secretary's Register of Correspondence Received, 1840 (reel 2570), register entry 1840/1424, Mason to Colonial Secretary, N.S.W. Archives Office of New South Wales, Sydney.

[21]The Colonial Office had not suggested the appointment of a Superintendent of Public Works. For a list of the staff the Office did suggest see PRO, CO 209/8, f. 320.

bench for five years' by his father, a borough surveyor and Ipswich Dock Commissioner. On completion of his articles Mason spent three years superintending the 'erection of Carleton Hall in the County of Suffolk'.[22] He was then 'placed with E[dward] Blore Esqr' (1787-1879) for five years, superintending construction of additions to Lambeth Palace (1830-1850), among other works. When Blore's office 'was removed to Buckingham Palace', his 'time was partly occupied in superintending that Building'.[23]

By 1832 Mason was again practising at Ipswich, Suffolk,[24] undertaking numerous ecclesiastical commissions. Among them were the Essex churches of Brightlingsea (1837), St. Boltoph, Colchester (1837-8) and East Donyland (1837-8) ['intended to be a copy in white brick of the chapter-house at York'[25]]; 'vicarages at Brightlingsea, Essex, and Bedingfield, Suffolk',[26] as well as 'union houses at Ipswich and Eye in Suffolk, Kingston-upon-Thames and Epsom in Surrey, and Stroud in Gloucestershire'.[27] Although a reasonably prolific designer, the only work Mason is known to have created for a

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[22]Carleton Hall has not yet been identified. John Stacpoole, *William Mason: The First New Zealand Architect*, Auckland, 1971, p. 15, suggests that it may be Carlton House Terrace which, as Stacpoole acknowledges, is in London not Suffolk.

[23]4/2392.1 (Colonial Secretary's Inwards Correspondence), enclosure (Mason to Lewis) to letter 38/1346 (Lewis to Colonial Secretary). Archives Office of New South Wales, Sydney.

[24]Stacpoole, p. 16, states that 'five years after his [Mason's] marriage [in 1831] he returned to Suffolk'. However, Mason gives the date of his return to Ipswich as 1832 in his enclosure (Mason to Lewis) to letter 38/1346 (Lewis to Colonial Secretary) in 4/2392.1, Archives Office of New South Wales, Sydney.

[25]H. M. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of English Architects 1600-1840*, London, 1954, p. 380. On these churches see also Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Essex*, London, 1954, especially pp. 47, 104, 132, 164 and Stacpoole, *William Mason: New Zealand's First Architect*, pp. 16, 19 & plates 24-30.

[26]Stacpoole, p. 19.

[27]*Ibid.*, pp. 16 & 19.

governmental building in Britain is an unsuccessful competition entry for a Customs House, Ipswich, in the Greek Doric style.[28]

Induced 'to give up.. business'[29] to settle in New South Wales, he applied for work in 1838 with Mortimer Lewis (1796-1879), New South Wales' Colonial Architect (1835-49). Presenting himself to Lewis as 'a practical man competent to prepare working drawings Elevations and Sections or to undertake the superintendence of any building',[30] he also submitted copies of some of his drawings. If his Greek Revival design for the Ipswich Customs House was among them Lewis would doubtless have recognised his suitability for employment in his office; Lewis' work 'represented the most notable development of the Greek Revival that was to be seen in Australia'.[31]

Lewis was authorised, on 22 December 1838, to employ Mason on a three month trial[32] as 'Foreman of Works of the Sydney Court House' (1835-44) and began employing him from 1 January the following year.[33] Supervision of construction of the Sydney Court House,

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[28] *Ibid.*, p. 19 & plate 23.

[29] 4/2392.1 (Colonial Secretary's Inwards Correspondence), enclosure (Mason to Lewis) to letter 38/1346 (Lewis to Colonial Secretary). Archives Office of New South Wales, Sydney.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] According to Morton Herman, *The Early Australian Architects and their Work*, Sydney, 1954, p. 193. Morton Herman also describes Lewis as 'the leading designer in the Greek revival style in Australia' who was also 'quite adept at Gothic revival'. See Morton Herman, 'Lewis, Mortimer William', *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Volume 2: 1788-1850* (Douglas Pike, gen. ed.), Carlton, Victoria, 1967, p. 113.

[32] See 4/2392.1 (Colonial Secretary's Inwards Correspondence), minute on back of letter 38/13436 (Lewis to Colonial Secretary). Archives Office of New South Wales, Sydney. Lewis argued (in letter 38/13436) that Mason's services were 'likely to prove useful' and requested the Colonial Secretary's permission to employ him on trial, 'charging the amount of his salary upon such Buildings as it may be found advantageous to employ him upon, whereby no increase of the permanent strength or expense of the Department will be incurred.'

[33] New South Wales Blue Book, 1839. (Archives Office of New South Wales' fiche). According to Stacpoole, p. 21, Mason arrived in Australia in June 1838. If so, Stacpoole's statement that Mason immediately found employment in the Colonial Architect's Office in New South Wales is incorrect.

designed by Lewis and now known as the Darlinghurst Court House, was no doubt Mason's principal occupation and probably his only one in the Colonial Architect's Department; Foremen of Works engaged on major building projects did not normally have other duties. Mason's appointment was thus linked to a single, finite work[34] and he was doubtless grateful for the offer of employment in New Zealand.

From Hobson's point of view, in appointing Mason he had secured as New Zealand's first Superintendent of Public Works a British architect, foreman of works and surveyor whose previous work experience included long periods supervising construction of buildings in the Mother Country, notably work on one of the King's works (Buckingham Palace) and a major colonial government building (Darlinghurst Court House). Although Mason's experience designing government buildings was limited, he was an experienced architect in other fields and, by his own account, 'a practical man', well suited to working in the colonies. In New Zealand he was to prove himself capable of turning his hand to a wide range of trades and professions.[35]

Mason's successors were likewise versatile and practical. The first, Henry Charles Holman (1812-93), had been articled to 'Mr Weston of Exeter' and is credited with professional training in both 'naval and general architecture'.[36] Like Mason, he made his way to

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[34]Stacpoole attributes Mason with competition designs for a Mechanics Institute and with designing storage silos for wheat while in Sydney. See Stacpoole, p. 22. However, Stacpoole's supposition that Mason 'could turn his attention to Government House [Sydney]... it was not at all improbable that he had worked on the drawings... prepared by Edward Blore' (Stacpoole, p. 23) can not be substantiated. Mason was not employed by Blore when Blore received the commission for Government House, Sydney, in 1835.

[35]Mason was variously an auctioneer, farmer and local and central government politician. He was elected Mayor of Dunedin 1865 and served until 1867.

[36]Madge Malcolm, *Tales of Yesteryear Including Oral Histories of Northland*, Russell, 1994, p. 1. The claim that Holman was 'brought up to naval and general architecture' is also made in F. W. Furkert, *Early New Zealand*

New Zealand via the Australian colonies. From 14 December 1836 he was in Adelaide[37] where he is purported to have supervised construction of the first Anglican Church.[38] Lured to New Zealand by the prospect of making money in the timber trade, he bought property - Mimiwhangata, 40 kilometres south of the Bay of Islands - confirming his intention to settle. When, in July 1841, Mason resigned as Superintendent of Public Works to pursue business interests Holman applied for the post of Superintendent of Public Works.[39] Already familiar with the timber trade in New Zealand and with building construction in South Australia, he was the obvious heir to the office Mason had established.[40] Despite his suitability he served less than a year. His wife, Elizabeth, feeling 'ill through the constant worry' of Maori attack in Auckland in retribution for the hanging of Wiremu Kingi Maketu (? - 1842) for murder,[41] persuaded him to move to Sydney in 1842.[42]

Engineers, Wellington, 1953, p. 191, but Jane Wordsworth, *Women of the North*, Auckland, 1981, p. 67, refers to him only as a building contractor.

[37]See transcript of 'Journal of Mrs Elizabeth Holman' in *ibid.*, p. 2.

[38]Holman is credited with designing the church in *ibid.*, p. 1. & Florence Keene, *With Flags Flying*, Whangarei, 1972, p. 7. A prefabricated church was shipped from England to Adelaide but it was decided 'to discard' it when it was 'discovered almost impossible to erect'. See Elfrida & Rolf Jensen, *Colonial Architecture in South Australia: A Definitive Chronicle of Development 1836-1890 and the Social History of the Times*, Adelaide, 1980, p. 626 & Miles Lewis, 'The Portable Church in Australia', *Historic Environment*, IV, I, 1984, p. 27. Holman may have attempted to erect this prefabricated building, though it is more likely that he was involved with construction of a replacement church built in 1838.

[39]Holman viewed the post as essentially that of a clerk of works rather than as an architect; when he applied for the post he referred to it as 'Inspector of Government Works'. See IA, 1, 41/760.

[40]*Home and Building*, vol. XII, no. 2, October/November 1949, p. 7, claims that Henry was Colonial Architect and Superintendent of Public Works under Governor Hobson. However, he never held the title of Colonial Architect. Since he did not produce any testimonials he was engaged on trial for 'a week or fortnight' under Mason's charge. His permanent appointment was confirmed as Superintendent of Public Works. See IA, 1, 41/760.

[41]On Maketu and his trial and hanging see Steven Oliver, 'Maketu, Wiremu Kingi ?-1842', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume 1: 1769-1869*, Wellington, 1990, p. 262.

None of Holman's immediate successors is known to have had any architectural training. Admittedly, however, very little information is available about the first, John Rawlings Malcott, Superintendent of Public Works from 16 March to 21 August 1842.[43] Probably he was a clerk in the Superintendent's office and performed the duties of Superintendent of Public Works as a caretaker in the expectation that a suitable replacement for Holman would soon be found. However, even his successor, Thomas Cleghorn (1799-1843) (Superintendent Public Works for a little over two months - 22 August 1842 to 30 October 1842), was previously a junior clerk in Holman's office (as well as the Superintendent of Domains)[44] and was subsequently regarded merely as a caretaker Superintendent of Public Works.

Unable to find a suitably trained Superintendent of Public Works, the appointment of 'caretakers' continued for some years. From 1 November 1842 to 7 January 1844, the Surveyor-General, Charles Whybrow Ligar (1811-81),[45] performed the duties of Superintendent of Public Works as an adjunct to his other work. An Assistant Surveyor was appointed to his staff in acknowledgment of his additional

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[42]The couple later returned to New Zealand and Elizabeth regretted the decision to leave (no retribution ensued for Maketu's execution), but Henry never again worked in the civil service, becoming involved instead in a variety of business ventures including boat building.

[43]Malcott is listed in the 1842 Police Census as living in Official Bay in a wooden house, but is not listed in the 1845 Police Census, and may therefore have left Auckland. See 'Police Census 1842-5', unpublished manuscript, Auckland Public Library & Martin McLean, *Auckland 1842-1845: A Demographic and Housing Study of the City's Earliest European Settlement*, Science and Research Internal Report No. 33, Regional Archaeology Unit, Auckland, January 1989, pp. 13-71. Note also that Malcott does not appear in *Roll of Early Settlers and Descendants in Auckland Province Prior to the End of 1852* [Auckland?] 1940.

[44]See transcript of 'Journal of Mrs Elizabeth Holman' in Malcolm, p. 7.

[45]These dates are those cited in J. M. Powell, 'Ligar, Charles Whybrow (1811-81)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 5, 1851-1890 (Douglas Pike, gen. ed.), Carlton, Victoria, 1974, p. 85 & Joan Kerr (ed.), *The Dictionary of Australian Artists: Painters, Sketchers, Photographers and Engravers to 1870*, Melbourne, 1992, p. 492. They differ from those in G. H. Scholefield (ed.), *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. I, Wellington, 1940, p. 498.

workload[46] but Ligar himself was responsible for superintendence of public works. Like his immediate predecessors he did not claim to be an architect. After training at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst and receiving a commission with the Royal Engineers he joined 'the hill drafting department of the Ordnance Survey'.[47] Ligar was appointed Surveyor-General of New Zealand while working for the Ordnance survey in Ireland.[48] Within the colony, he was to become well known for his work on the Ligar Canal, Auckland, a cutting or ditch created to divert a creek from buildings and private property. The canal was criticised by early settlers as ineffective[49] but Ligar's competence as Superintendent of Public Works was never seriously questioned. He was replaced on 8 January 1844 after requesting to be relieved of his duties so that he could concentrate on other works.

FitzRoy's efforts to find a replacement were complicated by the decision of the Colonial Office to reduce the cost of the indebted civil administration of New Zealand by abolishing the offices of Colonial Surgeon, Harbour Master and Colonial Storekeeper. Adamant that a Harbour Master was essential, he decided to circumvent the Colonial Office's instructions by appointing David Rough (1815-1899), the Harbour Master, to the post of Superintendent of Public Works, mainly to continue serving as Harbourmaster, but ostensibly also to

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[46]PRO, CO 406/5, f. 58.

[47]Scholefield (ed.), *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. I, p. 498.

[48]Scholefield cites the date of Ligar's appointment as Surveyor-General as 1840. In fact, Felton Mathew was appointed Surveyor-General in 1840 and held the post until his dismissal in January 1842. On Mathew's dismissal, which foreshadowed Ligar's appointment, see A. W. Reed, *Auckland: City of the Seas*, Wellington, 1955, pp. 56-7.

[49]See Una Platts, *The Lively Capital: Auckland 1840-1865*, Christchurch, 1971, pp. 43 & 218.

carry out the Superintendent of Public Works' duties.[50] Though an enthusiastic Superintendent, Rough lacked the training and skills to design and supervise construction of buildings.[51] Having 'gone to sea early in European trade', virtually his whole career had been devoted to seamanship.[52] Despite his lack of architectural training, he held the office of Superintendent of Public Works from 8 January 1844 until 5 February 1845.

Considered as a group, the early Superintendents had much in common. With the notable exceptions of Mason and Holman, they made no claims to architectural expertise though they had varying degrees of training and/or experience in related trades and professions - notably, naval architecture, surveying and building. All had travelled widely and therefore knew at first-hand the sometimes primitive conditions in which British settlers lived. New Zealand was, for them, an unfamiliar and possibly disorienting environment but their expectations of the buildings that would constitute the first temporary homes and government offices were as realistic as those of the Governors. Whether through knowledge of boat building or construction of timber houses most, if not all, would have had at least some experience of timber construction before arriving in a colony in which timber was to become the mainstay of the building and architectural professions.

The civil establishment in New Zealand did not begin constructing substantial new buildings for the administration

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[50]See PRO, CO 211/1, p. 39.

[51]See Furkert, p. 257.

[52]On Rough see G. H. Scholefield, *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. II, Wellington, 1940, p. 259 & Furkert, p. 257.

immediately. Rather, Hobson established a temporary base at Kororareka, the hub of European trade and settlement. Unable to come to reasonable terms for sites for Government offices there, further locations for the capital of the colony were investigated. On the basis of a recommendation from the Surveyor-General, Felton Mathew, Hobson purchased James Reddy Clendon's property at Okiato, eight kilometres south of Kororareka, and proclaimed it to be the capital of the colony, naming it Russell, after the British Secretary for War and Colonies.

One of the attractions of the Okiato property was the existence of suitable buildings for government offices. Before it was purchased Mason and Shortland inspected the site reporting that the buildings consisted of a substantial homestead, two timber stores, two timber cottages (one with two parlours, a bedroom and kitchen, the other with only two rooms) and a blacksmith's shop and wharf and jetty.[53] According to Mathew they would provide 'accommodation for the residence of a Police Magistrate, a Store, Barracks, Hospital, Mechanics Workshop and indeed every convenience which can be for some
3. time required'.[54] Depictions of the buildings[55] show a group of mainly one and two storey gabled structures along the waterfront with a bungalow on a hill overlooking the harbour.[56] The latter was appropriated as Government House. Mason added a kitchen to it and

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[53]See IA, 1, 40/122. See also Ruth Ross, *New Zealand's First Capital*, Wellington, 1946, p. 38. Ross notes that there may have been a carpenter's shop rather than a second store.

[54]Stacpoole, p. 25.

[55]For illustrations see also *Mrs Hobson's Album*, Reproduced with Commentary and Catalogue by Elsie Locke & Janet Paul [Auckland?] 1989, p. 124 & plate 56 (album p. 165).

[56]The house was destroyed by fire in 1843. See *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 9 July 1843, p. 3.

built barracks and a bakehouse (for mechanics), as well as providing fittings for a court house, a flagstaff and finishing 'the temporary offices'.[57] Presumably he also built a gaol.[58]

Although these utilitarian timber-frame structures were 'little more than sheds',[59] Okiato itself was never more than a temporary capital. Hobson had been instructed to select a site suitable for communication with the Maori tribes of New Zealand and on 18 September 1840 an agreement was signed by Captain William Symonds, the Deputy Governor, and Ngati Whatua, the Maori tribe of the district, ceding the site chosen by Hobson on the Waitemata Harbour, about 180 kilometres south of Okiato, for the colony's capital. Within weeks the town, named Auckland (after Lord Auckland who had been influential in Hobson receiving a command), began to take shape in three adjacent bays named Official, Mechanics and Commercial Bays after the principal functions of each.[60] It is mainly in Official and Mechanics Bays that the history of the design and construction of purpose-built government buildings begins.

The most significant structure was Government House. Destroyed by fire in 1848, it is now known only through a few contemporaneous sketches and various written descriptions but much of its history can

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[57]IA, 12, 1, repro 1667, 'Return of Public Works and Buildings Not of a Military Nature Which Have Been Undertaken During the Year'. No documentation of the construction of any of these works has yet been uncovered at National Archives, Wellington, the repository for New Zealand government records.

[58]*Ibid.* Evidence of a gaol at Okiato remained until at least 1943. See the map of the site in 1943 reproduced in Ross, p. 73.

[59]Stacpoole, p. 26.

[60]There was some settlement in a fourth bay, Waipiro or Freeman's Bay, but this was of lesser significance. Topographically central Auckland now bears little resemblance to the original town site. The original beach line of Commercial Bay is now marked by Fort (originally Fore) Street; Official Bay was to the east of Commercial Bay. Mechanics Bay was in the area now known as Parnell. Freeman's Bay is now Victoria Park.

be pieced together. In June 1839, before leaving Britain, Hobson wrote to James Stephen with an estimate of the 'expenses for the first establishment of a colony in New Zealand' which comprised mainly the cost of a wooden-frame house and furniture and the probable freightage costs.[61] The estimate for the house (£1,200) was supplied by 'Mr. Manning, builder, No. 25, Holborn' who, Hobson noted, had 'constructed and sent abroad many houses for settlers in the new colonies'.[62] In Hobson's view, 'Judging by the rude and imperfect plan he [Manning] has shown me, he will furnish a very good temporary residence... which may be sold and removed when a more permanent one can be erected'.[63] The estimate for furniture and stationery was the 'same in amount as was supplied to Captain Hindmarsh when proceeding to South Australia'.[64]

Within a month of Hobson presenting his estimate moves were being made to acquire a house from Manning. The cost of the building was sanctioned by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury in July 1839[65] on the understanding that the money would be found by the colony of New South Wales and repaid by New Zealand once annexed. In August 1839 Hobson was advised by the Colonial Office that the Board of Ordnance had been given directions for the provision of the

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[61]Hobson to Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office, 24 June 1839, printed in Robert McNab (ed.), *Historical Records of New Zealand*, vol. 1, Wellington, 1908, pp. 744-5.

[62]*Ibid.*

[63]*Ibid.*

[64]*Ibid.* Hindmarsh (1785-1860) was Governor of South Australia. See 'Hindmarsh, Sir John (1785-1860)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Douglas Pike, gen. ed.), vol. 1: 1788-1850, Carlton, Victoria, 1966, pp. 538-41.

[65]The true cost of the house was about £1,830. A further £190 was later sanctioned for articles for construction of the house. See PRO, CO 406/1, letter 171.

'wooden frame house'.[66] Construction of the building was well advanced by 3 January 1840 when the Surveyor of the Board of Ordnance[67] inspected the house being built 'by Mr. Manning of High Holborn, in the timber yard of Mr. Richardson, in the Commercial Road'.[68] Described as a mansion, its dimensions were in fact relatively modest: '120 feet [36.6 m] by 50 feet [15.2 m] and 24 feet [7.3 m] in height'.[69] Admittedly, the floor area was approximately three times that of the prefabricated portion of the British Residency, Waitangi[70] and both in its size and British origins the building was a more potent symbol of British sovereignty of New Zealand than the Residency. It is, however, difficult to conceive of it as a mansion.

Rather, the *New Zealand Gazette* described a comfortable but relatively modest structure, reporting that

> The interior of the building is laid out into rooms, embracing dining rooms, dressing, bed, and servants' rooms. There are also a school-room, and clerks and secretaries offices. Kitchens are to be built detached from the house. The dining and drawing-rooms are both of great extent, and capable, by opening a large pair of folding doors, of making a very magnificent apartment. The height of the rooms is 12 feet [3.7 m], and their sides are beautiful specimens of partition work, and every room will be furnished with a stove, the marble chimney pieces &c., being all ready to set up in the colony. Every article of furniture will be fitted to the house before it is taken down, and will be sent down with it.[71]

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[66]PRO, CO 406/1, letter 115.

[67]For an account of the evolution of the Board of Ordnance's role in the design and construction of buildings see Nigel Barker 'The Building Practice of the English Board of Ordnance 1680-1720', *English Architecture Public and Private: Essays for Kerry Downes* (John Bold & Edward Chaney eds.), London, 1993, pp. 199-214.

[68]*New Zealand Gazette*, 4 July 1840, p. 3.

[69]*Ibid.*

[70]The approximate dimensions of the prefabricated portion of the British Residency as built to Ambrose Hallen's revised design were 15 feet [4.57 m] by 22 feet [6.17 m].

[71]*New Zealand Gazette*, 4 July 1840, p. 3.

The method of construction conformed to that of other Manning cottages, the *New Zealand Gazette* explaining that

> the massive frame-work, upright posts, and roof... are all bolted and screwed together in such a manner that, although as it now stands it is as firm as any edifice in London, every portion of it [the building] may be disconnected and again connected, if required, in an almost incredibly short space of time.[72]

This description, though not very precise, accords with that of other Manning cottages in which 'grooved post, [are] housed into, and bolted to, a continuous floor plate carried on bearers, the posts in turn carrying a 'wall' plate supporting simple triangulated trusses'.[73]

Though the structure was conventional, the cladding was somewhat unusual. In most Manning cottages panels fitted 'in the manner of the infilling of traditional plank-wall construction' into the grooved posts.[74] On the cladding of Auckland's Government House, the *New Zealand Gazette* reported that

> The sides... are enclosed with stout planking, so fitted together that the shrinking of the wood cannot render the walls less tight, and when painted on the outside, they will have the appearance of stone.[75]

The planks were thus nailed over studs to create 'the appearance of stone', rather than being fitted into grooved posts. Drawings created by the architect Edward Ashworth (1814-1896)[76] confirm that

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[72]*Ibid.*, 4 July 1840, p. 3.

[73]Gilbert Herbert, *Pioneers of Prefabrication: The British Contribution in the Nineteenth Century*, Baltimore, 1978, p. 9.

[74]*Ibid.*, p. 9.

[75]*New Zealand Gazette*, 4 July 1840, p. 3.

[76]Ashworth, born in Exeter, trained under Robert Cornish and later worked for Charles Fowler. He arrived in Auckland via Australia in 1842. Unable to find architectural work, he produced a large number of sketches of colonial Auckland. Leaving New Zealand in 1844, he returned to England

the building had a smooth, seamless and stone-like cladding without visible posts.[77] It therefore invited comparison with the walls under the verandah of the Waimate North Mission House (1830), erected under the supervision of missionary George Clarke over a decade earlier.[78]

Regardless of the parallels with earlier New Zealand work, Manning's Auckland Government House is more commonly compared with a portable house erected for the exiled Napoleon. The ultimate source for this claim is again the *New Zealand Gazette* which commented in 1840 that Hobson's mansion was 'larger, more convenient, and more substantial than the portable house made for the Emperor Napoleon at St. Helena'.[79] Doubtless the comparison was drawn with a view to impress and attract potential migrants to the colony, though some historians have accepted it as correct; others have further asserted that the Auckland Government House was modelled on Napoleon's house,[80] also said to have been manufactured by Manning.[81] In fact,

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where he worked on restoration of Gothic churches. He became 'deeply involved with the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society'. See Jonathan Mané, 'New Zealand's First European Architects', *New Zealand Historic Places*, no. 28, March 1990, p. 38 & Una Platts, *Nineteenth Century New Zealand Artists: A Guide and Handbook*, Christchurch, 1979, pp. 25-6.

[77]As a draftsman, Ashworth concentrated on depicting the volumetric form of buildings rather than detail such as the method of cladding but vertical posts would have been such a distinctive feature of the building that he would surely have depicted them had they existed.

[78]On the cladding of the walls under the verandah of the Waimate North Mission House see J. M. Stacpoole, *A Guide to the Waimate Mission House*, Wellington, 1971, p. 16.

[79]*New Zealand Gazette*, 4 July 1840, p. 3. Since Hobson had been involved in transporting Napoleon to St. Helena he was almost certainly familiar with the arrangements made for Napoleon's accommodation on the island. It is possible that Hobson made some comment on Napoleon's house in relation to his own and that this is the ultimate source for the comparison of the buildings.

[80]See, for example, Guy H. Scholefield, *Captain William Hobson: First Governor of New Zealand*, p. 153, which describes the house as 'the counterpart of the one built twenty years earlier for the residence of Napoleon at St. Helena'; Janet Paul, 'Catalogue to Album', *Mrs Hobson's Album*, p. 111, which states that the house 'was modelled on one built twenty years earlier for Napoleon at St. Helena' & Platts, *The Lively Capital: Auckland 1840-1865*, p. 37, which comments that 'The Government House building was said to have been the same model as that used to house

none of the buildings Napoleon lived in on St. Helena resembled Manning's Auckland Government House[82] and, although a prefabricated house was supplied for him which he never occupied (known as New Longwood), it is also unlikely that there was any connection between it and Auckland's Government House.[83]

More convincing parallels can be drawn between Hobson's house and officials' houses supplied to the Australian colonies, the mainstay of Manning's trade.[84] Hobson was doubtless aware that a Manning house had been supplied to Captain Hindmarsh, Governor of

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Napoleon Bonaparte in his exile on St. Helena... Its very different appearance from the St. Helena house was due to the details and embellishments added by William Mason'.

[81]See, for example, John Stacpoole, *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1976, pp. 23-4, which states that 'It [Auckland's Government House] had been made by Manning of High Holborn who had provided Napoleon's house on St Helena twenty years before' & John Stacpoole & Peter Beaven, *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970*, Wellington, 1972, p. 15, which likewise asserts that the house 'was prefabricated in 1839 by Manning of High Holborn who had supplied Napoleon's house at St. Helena'.

[82]While exiled on St Helena (from 1815) Napoleon lived first in Jamestown at Henry Porteous' house (demolished 1937), then in 'a summer house or pavilion' at The Briars and, finally, at Longwood (built in 1743 as a barn, converted into a house in 1746 and later altered for Napoleon's reception). On Napoleon's residence in Henry Porteous' house and 'a summer house pavilion' see Philip Gosse, *St. Helena 1502-1938*, London, 1938, pp. 267-8 & for an illustration of Mr. Porteous' house *ibid.*, between pp. 272-3. A ground floor plan of Longwood and a detailed description of internal arrangements at the time of Napoleon's occupancy is contained in Las Cases, *Journal of the Private Life and Conversations of the Emperor Napoleon at Saint Helena*, vol. II, part 3, London, 1824, plan between p. V and p. 1, description pp. 1-4. Further details are provided in vol. 1, second part, pp. 26-7, 30-1 & a photograph of part of the house is reproduced in Gosse, between pp. 292-3. Although Longwood has a low, spreading form articulated by shuttered French doors, it resembled Government House, Auckland, in only the most superficial sense.

[83]New Longwood may have been supplied by Manning but this, too, is improbable. Manning claimed about 1829 that he had built and shipped structures to Western Australia (the Swan River Settlement), New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land (Tasmania), but he is not known to have traded in panelised buildings of bolted construction much before that date, some nine years after Napoleon's death in 1821. See Herbert, p. 4 & Miles Lewis, 'Jolimont, Melbourne' in Australian Council of National Trusts, *Historic Houses of Australia*, Stanmore, 1974, p. 88.

[84]For a discussion of prefabricated buildings in Australia and New Zealand and the connections between the two see Miles Lewis, 'The Tasman Connection: Regionalism, Colonialism and Nationalism', *Regional Responses: Papers and Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians of Australia and New Zealand, Christchurch, New Zealand, 6-8 July 1991* (Ian Lochhead, ed.), Christchurch, 1995, pp. 91-7.

South Australia.[85] Hindmarsh's house was heavily modified when first erected in 1837, incorporating 'windows consigned to Charles Mann, the advocate general and John Morphett, the land agent'.[86] Its purchase would nevertheless have provided a useful precedent for Hobson, who appears to have first approached Manning about the supply of a house without Colonial Office authority.

Other Australian houses also warrant comparison with Hobson's Auckland Government House. By January 1840 Manning was claiming to have received testimonials from, among others, the Surveyor-General of New Zealand (as well as several members of his staff)[87] and Charles Joseph La Trobe, Superintendent of the Port Phillip District and first Governor of Victoria. No record of the Surveyor-General's prefabricated house exists but La Trobe's connections with Manning are well documented.

Before leaving Britain for Port Phillip La Trobe ordered two Manning cottages. The first, the 1839 cottage that remains standing today,[88] was intended as only a temporary residence; the second, 'a

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[85]Although Hobson did not mention the fact when he set out his estimate for the establishment of the colony of New Zealand, he did refer to the amount allowed Hindmarsh for stationery, revealing that he had some knowledge of the arrangements made by the Colonial Office for the establishment of the South Australian settlement.

[86]Herbert, p. 13. Herbert's source is Geoffrey Dutton, *Founder of a City*, London, 1960, p. 221.

[87]Herbert, p. 14. Manning's claim is curious; possibly the Surveyor-General's order was not filled. On arriving in New Zealand in 1840 the Surveyor-General, Felton Mathew (1801-47), lived in a tent and later a whare. In the 'second year of the settlement' of Auckland he built a house 'of very moderate dimensions and simple construction, much after the fashion of an Indian Bungalow, all on the ground floor, with windows to the ground opening on a wide verandah'. See J. Rutherford (ed.), *The Founding of New Zealand: The Journals of Felton Mathew: First Surveyor-General of New Zealand, and his Wife 1840-1847*, Dunedin, 1940, p. 205. William Swainson, the Attorney-General did, however, bring a framed house from England.

[88]For a brief account of this building (no longer on its original site) see *The Heritage of Australia: The Illustrated Register of the National Estate*, South Melbourne, 1981, 3/69.

more substantial and permanent cottage' was to be finished and despatched after La Trobe left for Australia.[89] In the event, La Trobe's permanent cottage was never erected for him. It is believed to have arrived in Melbourne on 7 February 1840 (six months before Hobson's house arrived in New Zealand) but La Trobe sold it before its arrival because he 'was occupying Crown land from which he might well be forced to move, and he so despaired of being able to buy any land at the prices then prevailing'.[90]

Ironically, however, it is the 'permanent cottage' that La Trobe sold, rather than the small cottage he erected, that in scale and method of construction would have most closely resembled Hobson's 'mansion'. Like Hobson's house, the permanent cottage ordered by La Trobe was probably not paneled but rather attempted to affect some architectural style by carrying 'through the Gothic theme of the original [extant] cottage'[91] with its 'delicately-paned casement sashes with glazing bars forming Gothic arches'.[92] Although New Zealand's first Government House was not Gothic in style, the interior had some decorative elements and furnishing; when Ashworth visited in 1843 he found in the drawing room 'a gilt chandelier, a few paintings, a handsome piano & some cases of highly ornamental books'.[93] Whatever the similarities between the two houses, it is indicative of Hobson's aspirations for his prospective colony and his own perceptions of his status that his temporary house found its

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[89]Lewis, p. 89.

[90]*Ibid.*

[91]*Ibid.*

[92]*Ibid.*

[93]Ashworth Journal, Ms-013-0106, A.T.L. Also quoted in *Mrs Hobson's Album*, p. 25.

closest parallels not in the small, temporary cottage La Trobe did erect but in a larger 'permanent' cottage he never constructed.[94]

Hobson's aspirations for his house also exceeded what Manning supplied. The prefabricated components of the house were first shipped to Port Nicholson where the New Zealand Company settlers hoped they would be erected. To their chagrin, however, they were in Auckland by 2 September 1840[95] where construction of the house, with substantial additions, began soon after the site of the new town was ceded to the Crown.

Erected in Official Bay at the corner of Waterloo Quadrant and Princes Street,[96] Manning's rectangular house formed only the central 'core' of a building which eventually had a 'U' plan. Before erecting the framework excavations were made for a cellar, later described by Governor FitzRoy's wife as capable of accommodating 'more than five thousand dozen of wine', a description which reflects her contention that 'being all open [it] made the house very cold, besides being quite useless'.[97] Another structure bought from Charles Terry, one of the first European settlers of Auckland, was

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[94]This also reflects the status of the Port Phillip District at this time. Unlike New Zealand, it was still a dependency of New South Wales. Nevertheless, some of La Trobe's contemporaries alleged that he did not keep 'up a state befitting his official position'. See Jill Eastwood, 'La Trobe, Charles Joseph (1801-1875)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 2, 1788-1850 (Douglas Pike, gen. ed.), Carlton, Victoria, 1967, p. 90.

[95]The Admiralty, which entered into a contract for conveyance of the house to New Zealand, was uncertain about where to send it since the site for its erection (and for the capital of the colony) had not been decided. See PRO, CO 209/8, f. 110.

[96]That is, on or near the site of the extant former Government House (1856), now used as the Auckland University Common Room. A map of Auckland in January 1842 (A.P.L. C995.1101 gmbs 1842) shows the house in this location, not at the corner of Hobson and Cook Streets as stated in Reed, p. 58. The map of Auckland 'ordered to be printed 12 August 1842' reproduced in Martin McLean, *Auckland 1842-1845, A Demographic and Housing Study of the City's Earliest Settlement*, unpaginated, further confirms that the original Government House was sited about where the extant former Government House is located.

[97]Platts, *The Lively Capital: Auckland 1840-1865*, p. 37.

erected as an addition to the prefabricated house by 'a carpenter residing in Waitemata named Seale'.[98] Terry's house was built by 18 January 1841 but 'at the opposite end from that intended by the Lt. Governor [Hobson]' who instructed that it be removed and re-erected.[99]

The frame of the prefabricated house, and possibly Terry's relocated one, were finished by March 1841 when the workmen celebrated completion of the fist stage of their work.[100] By June the whole house was nearing completion. The Superintendent of Public Works' return of the mechanics (artisans) employed for the month 2 May - 2 June 1841 presents a picture of industrious activity as the house neared completion. Sashes were being made; plates underpinned; temporary gutters fixed; the 'facing' completed; the framework and roof for the laundry prepared; dormer windows inserted along the rear elevation of Manning's building and the drawing room painted, among other work.[101] Most of the house had been roofed by 22 April 1841,[102] though Hobson gave authority as late as June for purchase of a further five thousand shingles.[103] Also in June a tender for

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[98]IA, 4, 260, Letter 8, 25 December 1840. It is implied in Reed, p. 58, that this building was the kitchen. In fact, a raupo structure was built as a kitchen and later replaced with a purpose-built structure. On the replacement of the raupo kitchen see Platts, *The Lively Capital: Auckland 1840-1865*, p. 36, quoting Dr. S. M. D. Martin in the *New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette*.

[99]IA, 4, 260, Letter 9, 18 January 1841.

[100]Stacpoole, *William Mason: The First New Zealand Architect*, p. 32, recounting James George's account of the house.

[101]IA, 1, 41/685.

[102]IA, 4, 260, Letter 10, 22 April 1841, Superintendent of Public Works transmitting account for shingling.

[103]IA, 1, 44/656.

fixing the chimney pieces in the library, dining and drawing rooms was submitted to Hobson for his consideration.[104]

It was in the alterations to the house, using some Australian materials,[105] that the first Superintendents of Public Works began to adapt the structure to the requirements of a New Zealand Governor - as they were perceived by Hobson. Many of the alterations were carried out by Holman. On 15 October 1841 he submitted an estimate, plan and specification for one of the most substantial - five additional rooms which constituted part, if not all, of one of the wings. Hobson approved construction on 17 November but warned Holman that 'much more accuracy will be required than has been shown in the specification because in that document it does not appear whether or not the rooms are to be ceiled'.[106] The following month Hobson agreed to accept Mr Emsley's tender for the work noting that it was 'reasonable' but again that 'there is no ceiling provided for'.[107] Whether built with or without a ceiling, Holman's addition was distinguished from the rest of the house by its hipped rather than gabled roof and traditional jointed timber frame rather than bolted construction.[108] In accordance with Colonial Office instructions, it was 'useful, plain and [presumably] solid'.

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[104]IA, 1, 44/655. Letter (dated 14 June 1841) transmitting a tender dated 12 June.

[105]Most of the materials not supplied by Manning were found in New Zealand but some were imported from New South Wales. In May 1842 the Superintendent of Public Works was requested to contact the Colonial Storekeeper to prepare a requisition for stores which had arrived from Sydney to be 'applied towards the completion of government house'.

[106]IA, 1, 41/1402.

[107]IA, 1, 41/1486.

[108]Holman specified erection of timber frame walls on brick foundations, all studs being morticed and tenoned together and the principal ones pinned. See IA, 1, 41/1402.

The only architectural feature of note was the verandah. Again, Holman was responsible for its construction. As built in London in January 1840 the Manning house was surrounded by a verandah supported by iron columns which it was said would 'give a fine appearance... when viewed from a distance'.[109] In New Zealand much, if not all, of the verandah was timber; no reference to iron posts survives in the extensive documentation of the construction of the house in the colony. Thomas Wright's 1842 tender for completing the verandah did not mention the posts but specified various timber components: 'half inch [12.7 mm] prepared and beaded boarding to the roof, circular rafters, with one side of the bearers to the rafters being wrought, wrought soffit and fascia to the sides, tongues beaded and hollow worked, and one division of trellace work framed and filled in'.[110] Though indistinctly depicted in surviving drawings, as completed the verandah posts and trellis infill doubtless resembled those of St Keven's, Karangahape Road (c. 1847)[111] and Hulme Court (1843),[112] 'a colonial version of the delicate wrought iron balconies popular in England'.[113]

At first it was intended to erect verandahs across both the front (north-east) and rear (south-west) elevations of the house, the

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[109] *New Zealand Gazette*, 4 July 1840, p. 3.

[110] IA, 1, 42/1202 contained with IA, 1, 44/615.

[111] Illustrated in John Stacpoole, *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1976, p. 31, and with the trellis covered by foliage much like that of Government House in Terence Hodgson, *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1990, p. 17.

[112] See Jeremy Salmond, *Old New Zealand Houses 1800-1940*, Auckland, 1986, p. 82.

[113] *Ibid.* Note also that St Keven's and then Hulme Court served as Government House after fire destroyed the Manning building and its additions. See G25/5, Grey to Sir John Pakington (Secretary of State), 9 June 1852, and G. A. Wood, *The Governor and his Northern House*, Auckland, 1975, p. 13.

only elevations not affected by later additions. In the event, a verandah was built across only the front elevation (and part way along the side elevations),[114] contributing to the evolution of a New Zealand tradition of erecting verandahs across the principal elevation of a house. The Government House verandah was nevertheless distinguished from those of other early New Zealand houses (such as the British Residency, Waitangi) by the rudimentary pediments which probably contained a Royal Crest. It was such small details, as well as the size of the house as a whole, which identified the building as an official residence and provided the first evidence of the Crown's intention to establish through architecture an official image of government.

The experience of building the house also confirmed that a governmental style of architecture would have to evolve within tight financial constraints. The expense of the alterations and additions to Manning's 'mansion' were controversial; expenditure on the Government House was rumoured in New Zealand to have totalled £16,000. Although this sum was doubtless much exaggerated, financing the erection of the additions only further drained the already impoverished Colonial Treasury. When the building was destroyed by fire in 1848 the *New Zealand Journal* thought it a fitting end for 'one of the ugliest abortions which ever entered into the heart of man to conceive',[115] a view coloured as much by exaggerated rumours

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[114]Unused trellis intended for 'the back [south-west] side of the house' was left lying in the cellar and the Governor demurred about paying for it. See IA, 1, 42/1350 contained with IA, 1, 44/615.

[115]*New Zealand Journal*, 2 December 1848, p. 7, also quoted in McLintock, p. 115.

of its expense, and dissatisfaction with the early Governors, as its lack of architectural quality.[116]

Although Government House contained some offices for staff of the civil establishment, others were required. It is in their design that full compliance with the Colonial Office's instruction that works should be 'useful, plain and solid' was achieved. Described in 1841 as 'those diminutive wooden things',[117] the first government office buildings served as general public offices, a Colonial Secretary's Office, Colonial Treasury, Customs House and Post Office. Although they were little more than sheds, they set the standard against which later government office buildings in the colony would be judged.

The standard was initially higher than that of many contemporary buildings erected in Auckland. John Logan Campbell's recollections of the work undertaken in 1841 to establish the capital makes the point. According to Campbell,[118] when he asked the Deputy-Governor how the survey of Auckland was proceeding he waved his hand towards Official Bay exclaiming

> "You see what is going on there; our Maori neighbours have come to the rescue, and are busily at work building *whares* for us". And then turning round he again waved his hand away towards Mechanics' Bay, and said - "And there you can see the

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[116]The *New Zealand Journal* was the unofficial organ of the New Zealand Company which had earlier been disappointed that Government House was built in Auckland rather than their own settlement, Wellington.

[117]*New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette*, 13 October 1841, p. 2.

[118]John Logan Campbell (1817-1912), often described as 'the father of Auckland', was a highly successful colonial merchant, provincial superintendent and philanthropist. For a full account of Campbell's life and career see R. C. J. Stone, *Young Logan Campbell*, Auckland, 1982 & R. C. J. Stone, *The Father and his Gift: John Logan Campbell's Later Years*, Auckland, 1987.

> Government sawyers hard at work, and in due course of time we shall have some offices erected."[119]

As Campbell implies, raupo *whare*[120] were considered acceptable for the first homes but European timber structures were the norm for the first government offices.

The Governors' aspirations were still higher. However, as Hobson's attempts to secure a store built in 'permanent materials' reveals, they could not always be met. The first government store, built in 1840-41, was a small, timber, hipped-roof structure in Commercial Bay. As early as 1842 Hobson was considering an offer to purchase an iron store as a replacement[121] but after comparing its cost with that of constructing a scoria store, he decided to forgo the iron building and call tenders for erection of a store in either stone or brick. When tenders for both proved beyond the means of the civil administration to find, he was forced to postpone construction 'until the govt are [sic] in a better condition to accept the lowest tender'.[122] In contrast, private citizens and businesses erected an increasing number of brick and stone buildings in Auckland during the 1840s, the first in 1841. The quality of government buildings, as perceived by European colonists, therefore began to lag behind those of colonial merchants.

Even the Government's general public offices were little more than huts. Before leaving the Bay of Islands, Mason had prefabricated the buildings.[123] On 5 February 1841 he accepted a

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[119]John Logan Campbell, *Poenamo: Sketches of the Early Days of New Zealand, Romance and Reality of Antipodean Life in the Infancy of a New Colony*, London, 1881, p. 317.

[120]A *whare* is a traditional Maori house. See W. J. Phillips, *Maori Houses and Food Stores*, Wellington, 1952.

[121]IA, 4, 260, Letter 94, 2 July 1842.

[122]IA, 1, 42/1444.

[123]On the work he superintended in September 1840 see IA, 1, 1840/589.

tender of £400 for 'taking down, removing and rebuilding the three framed Houses intended as temporary offices at Auckland'.[124] Reference to the buildings as houses may be indicative of their former function and therefore one of the general characteristics of colonial architecture; re-use and adaptation of existing structures to serve new and sometimes surprising functions. More probably, however, Mason thought of government office buildings as a form of dwelling house, an attitude conditioned by familiarity with the houses some government departments occupied in London. The concept of government offices as a specialised building-type, rather than houses in which office business is conducted, lay some way in the future.

Mason's houses were erected in Auckland in mid 1841. In June of that year a four-roomed house was completed by James Watson in Eden Crescent[125] as the Colonial Secretary's Office. It was described as 'the centre house of the government offices'[126] and was soon flanked by the Surveyor-General's Office on one side and the Colonial Treasurer's office on the other.

Tenders for completing the offices were called in the Government *Gazette* on 17 November 1841 and received that month. The work was to involve 'moving the Treasury and Surveyor General's Office in line with the Colonial Secretary's and raising that building to the same height'. This work was not carried out, however. On 8 December 1841 Mason advised that the buildings were

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[124]IA, 1, 41/109, transcript of outwards letter dated 5 February 1841 in IA, 4, 260.

[125]IA, 1, 41/663 Mason to Colonial Secretary, 17 June 1840. The date of completion is given as 26 June 1841 in a minute, probably from Hobson to the Colonial Secretary, on IA, 1, 41/663.

[126]IA, 1, 41/663, minute Hobson [?] to Colonial Secretary 17 May 1840.

finished, a 'slight alteration' in the arrangement of the offices having been made, 'the removing of them not being necessary and an altered plan for the Treasury having been adopted'.[127] The buildings are shown as three separate structures in a map of Auckland in January 1842.[128] Doubtless they were similar to the house Mason prefabricated and erected as his own residence in Auckland in 1840, a timber clad structure with gable roof, lean-to at the rear and shuttered windows.[129]

The customs house, which also served briefly as a post office in 1843,[130] was similarly utilitarian. On 23 April 1842 Malcott forwarded to the Colonial Secretary a plan and elevation for the building as well as a tender for the carpenters' work on the 'central building and wing building'. In June he advised Hobson that it was necessary to put some additional supports to the roof.[131] The building was completed, with the suggested alterations to the roof, on 3 September that year.[132] Only its roof form, indistinctly represented in a surviving drawing but probably a mansard or a

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[127]There was some dispute about this work. The contractor, Mr. Emsley, refused to deduct £10 from his tender when it was proposed to alter the plan for the building. The Governor, observing that the law supported Emsley's position 'from the imperfect mode of making the contract', decided that the 'original plan' would have to be carried out.

[128]Auckland Public Library map C995.1101 gmbs 1842.

[129]A pen and ink sketch of the building is reproduced in Stacpoole, *William Mason: The First New Zealand Architect*, p. 28 (illustration 4) & Platts, *The Lively Capital: Auckland 1840-1865*, p. 22. The house was clad with weatherboards not shingles as supposed in *ibid.*, p. 21. On the construction of shutters for the public offices see IA, 4, 260, m44/158, 4 October 1844, p. 108.

[130]The Post office was combined with the Customs Department from 1843 to 1853. See Howard Robinson, *A History of the Post Office in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1964, pp. 39-40 & 65.

[131]IA, 4, 260, Letter 83, 21 June 1842.

[132]IA, 1, 42/2228.

gambrel,[133] distinguished it from the other utilitarian structures erected in Commercial Bay.

Unlike customs officials most of the Governors' administrators found only temporary accommodation, being shifted from one building to another as funds permitted and circumstance dictated.[134] The post office, for example, was first located in the Government Store and later in a rented house in High Street, also used as the police station.[135] The house was purchased by Hobson for £90[136] in 1841 and in May 1842 a tender was received from 'Hunter and Madden' to make the building 'more commodious as public offices'.[137] In October the post office moved to Edward Rich's warehouse at the waterfront end of Queen Street;[138] in 1843 it was removed to the customs house[139] and in the following year to a house formerly occupied by the Belgian Consul in Princes Street.[140] In 1845 the suitability of the New Zealand Bank for a combined customs house and post office was being considered,[141] the former post-office premises in Princes Street

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[133]See 'Auckland from the West side of Commercial Bay, 12 February 1844'. Gilbert Bros. after John Adams. Auckland Public Library. Reproduced in Platts, *The Lively Capital: Auckland 1840-1865*, pp. 82-3.

[134]For the location of the government offices in 1845 see the map in McLean, *Auckland 1842-1845: A Demographic and Housing Study of the City's Earliest Settlement*, p. 61.

[135]See *The Mail Coach*, vol. 14, no. 4, December 1977, p. 80 & also *New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette*, 21 August 1841, p. 2.

[136]IA, 4, 260, Letter 87, 19 October 1841.

[137]*Ibid.*, Letter 56, 19 May 1842.

[138]The former building was in a dilapidated state. A tender was accepted in September for taking it down and putting 'it up again in a substantial and workmanlike manner finding all nails, locks and hinges for £35'. See IA, 1, 42/1584, Minute on Cleghorn to Watson, 2 September 1842. The work was planned with a view to appropriating the building for use by the Surveyor General or Colonial Treasurer. See IA, 4, 260, Letter 108, 13 July 1842.

[139]See *The Mail Coach*, vol. 14, no. 4, December 1977, p. 80.

[140]*Auckland Chronicle and New Zealand Colonist*, vol. 20, no. 46, 20 June 1844, p. 2.

[141]IA, 3, entry 44/1030.

being rented out.[142] The principal concern was thus to find suitable accommodation wherever possible, rather than the evolution of a distinctly governmental style of architecture.

One of the few government buildings with any architectural pretensions erected in the early years of colonisation was the Supreme Court House, Queen Street. A plan for the entire building, created by Mason, was approved on 27 May 1841[143] and the building constructed in three separate stages: a single court 'room', 'wings' on either side of the room and, finally, a portico.

A tender was accepted for the 'central room' in June 1841. It consisted of a timber-frame structure built on a basalt foundation with all the major joints strengthened with iron plates. The weatherboards on the 'back' of the building were '1" [25.4 mm] thick feather edge', though those facing Queen Street were 'one and a quarter inch [31.75 mm] rusticated'[144] and intended to resemble stone. Despite the use of rusticated weatherboarding the room was as simple and utilitarian as the other government buildings of the period. Even a proposal to line the interior was 'reserved for further consideration'.[145]

Construction of the flanking 'wings' proceeded quickly. Tenders for their construction were called on 15 December 1841[146] and a contract for the work secured by Cochrane and Swanson, the original

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[142] *New Zealander*, 9 August 1845, p. 1.

[143] IA, 4, 260, Letter 26, 27 May 1841.

[144] See IA, 1, 44/1549. The floor joists were to be 5 x 3" [127.0 x 76.2 mm] at 14" [355.6 mm] intervals; bottom and top plates 5 x 4" [127.0 x 101.6 mm] and 6 x 4" [152.4 x 101.6 mm] respectively; studs, 4 x 3" [101.6 x 76.2 mm]; tie beams 9 x 4" [228.6 x 101.6 mm]; king posts 12 x 4" [304.8 x 101.6 mm] & purlins 7 x 4" [127.0 x 101.6 mm].

[145] IA, 4, 260, Letter 41, 26 June 1841.

[146] *New Zealand Government Gazette*, 15 December 1841.

involved less 'blocking and supporting [of] the additional rooms' than first proposed[148] and by April Hobson was sanctioning payment following completion of the additions.[149] Some additional work to secure the scoria foundation of the building was sanctioned in July 1842.[150]

The portico was not added until 1844. Although attributed to Mason,[151] it was designed by Rough in accordance with instructions issued by FitzRoy. As FitzRoy explained to the Colonial Secretary, Andrew Sinclair

> the portico now at my suggestion to him [the Superintendent of Public Works] is very different from that estimated for by Cochrane [the original contractor]. It is as the Superintendent of Public Works says "most simple and less ornamental" hence the principal diffe[rence] (there are four square pillars instead of eight expensive round columns.)[152]

Drawings survive of the building before and after the portico
6. was added. In a drawing created by Ashworth in 1843,[153] it is depicted from an oblique angle without the portico. Although much of the detailing of the facade is unclear, the drawing provides an

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[148]See *ibid.*, Letter 21, 7 February 1842. Like Government House, the Court House had an extensive basement. A proposal to convert the Court House basement into a bond store (IA, 4, 260, Letter 112, 20 December 1841), although enthusiastically advocated by the Superintendent of Public Works when the building was under construction, was rejected by the Governor after the Collector of Customs reported that it would be inconvenient to have a bond store so far away from the sea. The basement of the court house was used instead as police cells. See IA, 4, 260, Letter 99/100, 7 July 1842.

[149]IA, 4, 260, Letters 49 & 53, 9 May 1842.

[150]*Ibid.*, Letter 129, 15 August 1842.

[151]See, for example, Stacpoole, *William Mason: The First New Zealand Architect*, p. 35, viz: 'Mason pleaded for and was eventually permitted to add a classical portico' & Mané, p. 38, viz: Mason 'added a classical portico'.

[152]See IA, 1, 44/1549.

[153]Gordon H. Brown, *Visions of New Zealand: Artists in a New Land*, Auckland, 1988, p. 79, cites 1843 as the date of the drawing.

impression of the building in 1843. The other, better known drawing, created by builder/architect Edward Bartley (1839-1919)[154] 'specially
7. for the [*Auckland*] *Weekly Graphic,*'[155] shows the court house with Rough's portico, together with adjacent gaol buildings, but has wrongly been identified as a depiction of the court house as built by Mason.[156]

Although the attribution is incorrect, even as completed by Rough the Auckland Court House was indebted to Mason's original design. Mason's design, in turn, owed a debt to Lewis' court houses
8. in New South Wales, especially the Darlinghurst Court House (1835-44), construction of part of which Mason had superintended. Itself derived from a design in Peter Nicholson's *The New Practical Builder,*[157] the Darlinghurst Court House set 'a pattern that was to dominate the design of such buildings for the next sixty years'[158] in New South Wales. The Parramatta Court House (1837), for example, is modelled on the Darlinghurst building.

Since, in 1853, over half of Auckland's settlers were immigrants from Sydney, the Auckland Court House conformed to models

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[154]Edward Bartley (1839-1919) was born in Jersey, Chanel Islands, and learned the building trade under his father. His best known building is the former Auckland Synagogue (1885). See the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand,* vol. 2 (Auckland Provincial District), Christchurch, 1902, p. 315; Salmond Architects, 'The Auckland Synagogue: A Conservation Plan', unpublished draft, Auckland, 1989, held by New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Head Office, Wellington; Shaw, pp. 63-4 & Terence Hodgson, *The Heart of Colonial Auckland 1865-1910,* Auckland, 1992, pp. 14, 23, 49, 69, 78 & 93.

[152]Caption to sketch of the court house and gaol buildings, A.P.L. neg. no. 2587, reproduced in Simon Best, *The Queen Street Gaol: Auckland's First Courthouse, Common Gaol and House of Correction (site R11/1559),* Auckland Conservancy Historic Resource Series no. 2, Auckland, April 1992, p. 12.

[156]See Stacpoole, *William Mason: The First New Zealand Architect,* p. 35.

[157]Richard Elsam's design for a court house reproduced in Peter Nicholson, *The New Practical Builder and Workman's Companion,* London, 1823, plate XL. See James Broadbent, *Colonial Greek: The Greek Revival in New South Wales, 1810-1850* (Exhibition Catalogue), Sydney, 1985, catalogue entry 47.

[158]Peter Bridges, *Historic Court Houses of New South Wales,* Sydney, 1986, p. 32.

Since, in 1853, over half of Auckland's settlers were immigrants from Sydney, the Auckland Court House conformed to models which would have been reassuringly familiar to them.[159] Many would, in any case, have known Greek Revival buildings in Britain and the use of timber cladding to resemble stone was familiar within the colony itself. The cladding of Manning's prefabricated Government House, for example, alluded to stone construction.

Attitudes towards the building were nevertheless mixed. Ashworth complained that it was 'ridiculously masked by a Greek Doric facade',[160] foreshadowing the Puginian distaste for the shams perpetuated by Mason and some of his successors. Ashworth's opinion was, however, a minority view in the early 1840s. For most colonists the Auckland Court House was one of the few buildings with any architectural pretensions in the fledgling town, and it was one of the first buildings to indicate the aspirations of the early Governors and Superintendents of Public Works to establish the art of government architecture in New Zealand. Through the use of the primitive Doric order they were taking the first halting steps in transplanting a European architectural tradition in a new, primitive environment.[161]

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[159]J. R. Phillips, 'A Social History of Auckland, 1840-53', M.A. Thesis, University of Auckland, 1966, pp. 72-3. See also Sarah Macready & James Robertson, *Slums and Self Improvement: The History and Archaeology of the Mechanics Institute, Auckland, and its Chancery Street Neighbourhood (site: R11/1589)*, vol. 1 [Auckland], October 1990, p. 7.

[160]Ashworth Journal, Ms-013-016, A.T.L. Also quoted in Brown, p. 79.

[161]Hobson's response to a design for entrance gates to the Government Domain, created by Holman in 1841, further reveals an underlying concern with the aesthetics of government architecture despite the straitened state of the Colonial Treasury. After studying the design, Hobson requested Holman to furnish an alternative with plain capitals. The capitals in the design originally submitted by Holman were, he said, 'heavy and different in symmetry generally'. See IA, 1, 41/1155 & IA, 1, 41/878, 11 August 1841.

Gaols were often the first government buildings erected by European settlers and, like the Court House in Auckland, the Auckland Gaol was important in setting a national design standard.

Built on the corner of Queen Street and Victoria Street West,[162] the gaol was also bounded on one side by the Court House, restricting its growth much beyond the site of the original buildings. Despite the restrictions on space, the gaol developed in piecemeal fashion without any overall plan for the site. The first portion of the complex was built in 1841.[163] It was sufficiently complete by 13 July that year to accommodate prisoners[164] but it may not have been roofed properly.[165] Hobson instructed that it must remain uncovered until shingles could be procured[166] and that the 'front' of the gaol was not to be covered in as 'shown in the plan' (no longer extant) but rather 'strongly staked between the cells with a narrow wicket gate to afford ingress and egress'.[167]

Although additions were made in 1842,[168] those made two years later, comprising a Debtors' prison and Cook House, were probably the more substantial. According to the specifications, the Debtors' prison was to be 30 by 20 feet [9.1 by 6.1 m] in plan. The 'back'

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[162]The site was recently occupied by His Majesty's Theatre and Arcade, demolished amidst controversy in 1987-8. Extensive archaeological investigations of the site were conducted after demolition of His Majesty's. They are recorded in Best, *The Queen Street Gaol: Auckland's First Courthouse, Common Gaol and House of Correction (site R11/1559)*.

[163]For the tender for its completion see IA, 1, 41/944.

[164]*New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette*, 13 July 1841 as quoted in Best, *The Queen Street Gaol: Auckland's First Courthouse, Common Gaol and House of Correction (site R11/1559)*, p. 19.

[165]See IA, 1, 41/875.

[166]*Ibid.*

[167]*Ibid.*

[168]IA, 1, 42/637 & IA, 4, 260, Letter 45, 21 April 1842 & Letter 46, 21 April 1842.

wall was to be '2 feet [0.61 m] thick scoria but the rest of well seasoned Crown timber' on scoria foundations 18 inches [457 mm] thick,[169] and the interior walls and partitions were to be lined on all sides 'with inch [25.4 mm][timber] doubled across'.[170] There were to be sash windows (3 feet 10 inches by 2 feet 4 inches, 1.17 by 0.86 m) in each cell and on either side of the day room door.[171] Although no drawings of the building survive, the specification of relatively large sash windows, presumably already available in the colony, suggests that it resembled some of the early colonial houses. With the completion of the Debtors' Prison and fencing (tenders for a
9. fence at the Debtors' Prison were accepted in 1844)[172] the more important structures on the gaol site were in place.[173]

From the date the first buildings in the complex were constructed they were subject to the almost inevitable miscellany of alterations and additions. As first built, the gaol complex allowed for some degree of segregation of prisoners (men from women and debtors from felons) but the means of access to some parts of the complex were inadequate. In 1842 the Sheriff complained about the great inconvenience of having only one door to the Felons' and Debtors' Prison and the Superintendent of Public Works was instructed to have another door inserted.[174] Other alterations intended to increase security were also initiated by the Sheriff. In 1843, for

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[169]IA, 1, 44/372.

[170]*Ibid.*

[171]*Ibid.*

[172]IA, 1, 44/2187. See also IA, 4, 260, m 44/175, Letter 192, p. 110.

[173]For a detailed account of the development of the gaol complex see Best, *The Queen Street Gaol: Auckland's First Courthouse, Common Gaol and House of Correction (site R11/1559).*

[174]IA, 4, 260, Letter 124, 11 August 1842.

example, the Sheriff requested permission for the hard labour men to cart scoria to the Debtors' Prison to fill in the 'considerable space between the ground and the flooring joists' which afforded 'a very easy mode of escape', the building being constructed on piles.[175] As a consequence of the alterations to the Auckland Gaol some of the design requirements of gaol buildings were being learned, the piecemeal alterations and additions slowly distinguishing the buildings in the gaol yard from the equally crude structures in the town. Just as New Zealand's early Superintendents of Public Works were beginning to think of government offices as a specialist building-type, so they were starting to appreciate the specialist requirements of gaol buildings.

Although the limits of the Crown's control were mainly the geographic limits of Auckland itself, some prisons, lock-ups and powder magazines were designed by the Superintendents of Public Works for other British settlements. Various plans for a powder magazine were prepared by the Superintendents of Public Works for Wellington, for example.[176] Likewise, as early as 9 December 1841, Hobson instructed the Superintendent of Public Works to prepare a plan and specification for a gaol for the settlement 'to contain four cells and to be formed of logs, but in other respects similar to Auckland'.[177] Little information exists about the structure[178] but

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[175]IA, 1, 43/704, Sheriff to Colonial Secretary, 20 March 1844.

[176]A design for a powder magazine was prepared in 1840-1, for example. The estimated cost was £52. See IA, 1, 41/1760. In 1842 further plans for a magazine were forwarded to the Colonial Secretary, the estimated expense having risen to £63, an amount which was considered prohibitive. See IA, 1, 42/42.

[177]IA, 4, 260, Letter 109, 9 December 1841.

Hobson's written instruction is the first surviving evidence of an administrator in New Zealand advocating a specific building in the colony as a prototype for another, a practice which was to contribute to the emergence of a unified architectural expression of government.

The use of Auckland buildings as prototypes was rare, however. Most had little discernible influence outside the capital. Rather, government officials in Wellington, Wanganui, New Plymouth and Nelson were left to their own devices to ensure that they had adequate accommodation. Local conditions, local building materials (mainly timber, earth and stone), availability of some building materials from overseas (especially iron from Britain) and British colonial building traditions were the principal determinants of similar but sometimes superior design solutions being adopted outside the capital. Two examples suffice to make the point: gaol (and police station) designs prepared in New Plymouth and post office designs prepared in Wellington.

The New Plymouth Gaol designs were created in 1842 when Henry King, Resident Magistrate of New Plymouth, advertised that he 'would receive tenders to be accompanied by plans' for a gaol and police station as either 'one or two distinct erections'.[179] The building(s) were to cost no more than £150 as either separate or combined structures. King received at least three proposals, all for timber structures. Timber, as King pointed out, was preferred because it would better withstand the forces of earthquakes in a township where 'stone or brick buildings have not yet been erected

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[178]On the erection of a gaol at Mt Cook, Wellington, in 1843-4, see *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 30 August 1843, pp. 3 & 10 February 1844, p. 2.

[179]IA, 1, 42/1307.

nor indeed would they be considered safe as Earthquakes are frequent & sometimes violent'.[180]

King's preference was for a project submitted by the builder
10. George Robinson. Robinson's two storey structure was to have cells on the ground floor and a police office on the first. The ground floor was to be formed of 9 inch [228.6 mm] thick logs 'laid horizontally properly square and halved together at the corners', the joints 'grooved, and tongued with iron and bolted throughout'.[181] Logs for interior partitions were to be laid vertically 'for the better convenience of hanging doors'.[182] The floors and ceilings were also to be of logs jointed with iron tongues. The logs of the exterior walls were to be 'jointed in imitation of rusticated masonry'[183] so that, like the Auckland Court House, they alluded to stone construction.

In recommending Robinson's project King passed over another
11. design for a log gaol and police station. It was, however, cruder than Robinson's; the logs were to be positioned vertically and driven three feet into the ground. An accompanying design for a weatherboarded police office, comprising a single room 20 by 11 feet
12. (6.1 by 3.55 m) with cob chimney, was to have an ambitious barrel-vaulted ceiling.[184]

None of these projects was accepted by Hobson. Hoping to save money, he considered erecting a lock up in Auckland and transporting

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[180] *Ibid.*

[181] *Ibid.*

[182] *Ibid.*

[183] *Ibid.*

[184] *Ibid.*

it by the Government Brig to New Plymouth. When the cost of this proposal was found to exceed that of constructing buildings in New Plymouth, Hobson approved *in situ* construction of 'a log house' to serve as a gaol and a simple 20 by 11 foot [6.1 by 3.55 m] building to serve as a police office.

The designs prepared in Wellington for a post office were likewise for simple structures though, like the New Plymouth buildings, they were important in establishing a tradition of timber governmental construction outside Auckland. Mainly local timbers were to be used for the post office, though it was to be roofed with 'Van Dieman's land [Tasmanian] shingles and battens if procurable in the Borough [Wellington] during the erection of the Building'.[185] Hobson and his officials considered alternative floor plans before
13. authorising construction. A building with an 'L' plan was first
14. proposed but Hobson preferred an alternative project with a 'U' plan and a porch or 'covered way' between the wings of the 'U', as well as a kitchen attached to the rear. Buildings with a 'U' plan were later erected for government departments in Auckland[186] but only simple rectangular structures had been constructed there when the Wellington Post Office was designed.

Thus to judge by the New Plymouth Gaol and Wellington Post Office projects, neither New Plymouth nor Wellington lagged behind Auckland. Despite their isolation, both towns erected simple, utilitarian structures which resembled and sometimes anticipated those built by Mason and his successors in Auckland, contributing to

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[185]See IA, 1, 1842/1924.

[186]See, for example, Reader Wood's 1848 plan for a police office, Auckland (ill. 22), discussed in chapter two, pp. 114-5.

the evolution of a New Zealand tradition of timber government architecture.

What, in part, distinguished the colonial capital from the New Zealand Company towns was the volume of government work and large government workforce. By 1841 the Public Works Department employed over fifty mechanics (artisans), the largest groups being sawyers and carpenters,[187] many of them recruited from Wellington.[188] A Superintendent of Domains and an additional ten staff, mainly labourers, were attached to the department to tend the Government Domain. Clerical assistance was provided from 22 May 1841 when William Withers was transferred by Hobson from the Colonial Store to Mason's office.[189]

Despite the size of the workforce, it did not form the basis of a stable governmental construction agency. Mechanics were generally employed as day labour and lacked any security of employment.[190] In early 1841 Mason advised employing workers on contract, arguing that 'Experience has shewn me that wherever this class of men are employed by the day, they seldom do justice to their employers'.[191] In his view, by contracting

> a much larger quantity of work will be performed at much less expence [sic]... the labour now employed by the Government will

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[187]See IA, 1, 41/685, providing the names of those employed from 2 May - 2 June 1841. Less than 25 mechanics were employed in September 1840. See IA, 1, 40/589 for a list.

[188]For a list of some of them see IA, 1, 41/970.

[189]IA, 12, 2. See 'Civil Establishment for the Year 1841'. Since Wither's transfer was made shortly after the Governor received instructions from the Colonial Office that the Superintendent of Public Works was to be responsible for the stores associated with his department, stores' clerical work was presumably Wither's principal task.

[190]That is, on a daily basis, as required.

[191]IA, 1, 41/516. Mason to Governor[?], undated. Since the letter was registered in IA, 322 (which covers the period 1 May 1841 to 31 July 1844) Mason's recommendation must have been made sometime between 1 May and his resignation on 1 August 1841.

> be doubled, consequently the Public Works will be executed in much less time, and I will venture to add that a saving of at least one hundred per cent will be effected.[192]

Despite Mason's advice, the Governor decided to use both day and contract labour. Additional labour was provided by prisoners and the Parkhurst Penitentiary Apprentices.[193] Work was also put to tender if there was some pecuniary advantage, the lowest tenders being accepted if 'the workmen are known to be competent, or at least not incompetent'.[194] Government mechanics were allowed to tender for work at Government House - Samuel Mills, a government carpenter, tendered for work there in 1842, for example[195] - but they were not allowed to tender for any other governmental or private contracts.[196] A clear demarcation between private and public sector employment was thereby established, a demarcation which later became blurred.

Although clearly separated from the public sector, flexibility was necessary when confronting the difficult problems of administering public works. According to Hobson, despite large expenditure 'a corresponding quantum of work' was not achieved,[197] mainly as a result of the 'extraordinary price of labour and

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[192]IA, 1, 41/516.

[193]IA, 3, entries 44/377 & 44/992. The Parkhurst Penitentiary apprentices were boys selected from Parkhurst Prison for pardon on condition that they emigrated to New Zealand and took apprenticeships in the colony.

[194]IA, 1, 42/155 (held with IA, 1, 44/1549). These comments were made in reference to Swanson and Cochrane's tender for additions to the court house. Contracts conformed to general nineteenth-century practice. Successful contractors having paid a bond, provided two sureties, agreed to complete work as specified by an agreed date to the satisfaction of the Superintendent of Public Works and received progress payments calculated on the amount of work completed and a proportion of the value of building materials on site.

[195]See IA, 3, entry 42/619.

[196]See IA, 1, 41/840.

[197][British] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1843 (134), vol. XXXIII, p. 10, reproduced in *Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers, Correspondence and Other Papers relating to New Zealand 1843-45, Colonies: New Zealand 4*, Shannon, Ireland, 1970, p. 20.

material, the profligacy of the workmen, and the want of proper superintendence of the workmen',[198] a view which does not reflect credit on the early Superintendents of Public Works. Despite pleas for assistance neither Hobson nor FitzRoy received the financial support from Britain they required. The former was compelled to draw unauthorised bills on the British Treasury; the latter was dismissed for issuing government debentures, a form of paper money, contrary to Colonial Office instructions. Neither had any practicable alternative. In 1844 the colony was heavily indebted; finances were so precarious that only the first £80 of civil service salaries were paid on time, the remainder being paid as soon after the end of the year as the financial circumstances of the colony allowed.[199]

Frustration at the slow progress of the public works is nowhere more evident than in the correspondence between Hobson and the Superintendents of Public Works. In July 1842 Hobson complained that he was

> a little sick of the repeated tenders presented to me most of which I have approved and months are allowed to elapse before they are taken in hand.[200]

Defending the delays, Malcott drew Hobson's attention to the lack of lining boards in store, the inability of the sawyers to supply them, the sickness of contractors for the works then in hand and the insufficiency of the three carts in the government service to cart supplies for works.[201] As Malcott realised, with a limited work-

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[198] *Ibid.*

[199] See *New Zealand Government Gazette*, 24 June 1844.

[200] IA, 1, 42/327 contained with IA, 1, 42/522.

[201] *Ibid.*

force, stringent government economies and small population, delays were almost inevitable.

Hobson's sense of frustration is further revealed by the fact that he was not always convinced of the difficulties, nor the veracity of his subordinates' reports. When a tender for completion of the government offices fell within four pounds two shillings of the estimate Hobson advised the Colonial Secretary that

> I greatly fear by the closeness of the tender to the estimate that there has been some communication by the Superintendent of Works of the amount of this estimate - We must be guarded not to become tools in the hands of designing men.[202]

Despite thorough investigation, no evidence of any collusion could be found.

Many of the problems with administration of the works were solved with the appointment of a new Governor, (Sir) George Grey, and the subsequent appointment of a new Superintendent of Public Works, Frederick Thatcher. Grey began his governorship with a level of Colonial Office support not enjoyed by either Hobson or FitzRoy, while Thatcher was a talented and fully trained architect. Although both Grey and Thatcher were appointed in 1845, their contribution to the evolution of New Zealand's government architecture dates mainly from 1846 when the administration of public works was reorganised.

Before 1846, Hobson, FitzRoy and the Superintendents of Public Works could build only the most rudimentary structures. Though a few of them evoked the historical styles which were the architectural touchstones of British heritage and government, Hobson and FitzRoy were generally prepared to remit 'to a future day what is merely

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[202] IA, 1, 41/1485 contained with IA, 1, 42/1514.

ornamental'. As early as 1840 Mason had claimed that he had been offered the post of Colonial Architect, rather than Superintendent of Public Works.[203] In making the claim he was, in effect, expressing both his own aspirations to improve his position and those of his fellow colonists who hoped to create quickly a new civilisation in the South Pacific complete with impressive public buildings. Regrettably, Hobson was compelled to confirm Mason in the office of Superintendent of Public Works. As he realised, there would be no need for a Colonial Architect in New Zealand for many years; only rudimentary structures would be required. In the period 1840 to 1845, both government buildings and the civil administration itself were necessarily useful, plain, and as solid as possible. The Colonial Office *ought* to have been well satisfied.

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[203]See Stacpoole, *William Mason: The First New Zealand Architect*, p. 27, IA, 1, 40/293 & IA, 4, 260, 25 July 1840.

CHAPTER TWO

Governor Grey's Buildings (1846-52)

By the mid 1840s the inability of a civil establishment based in Auckland to administer distant settlements was acknowledged by the British authorities, Governor and settlers alike. As early as 1844 Governor FitzRoy appointed Major Matthew Richmond[1] to Wellington as Superintendent of the 'Southern Division', an administrative outpost comprising all settlements south of a line approximately due east from Cape Egmont.[2] Although Richmond was little more than 'an impressively titled functionary presiding over an administrative clearing house',[3] he and his staff had some autonomy from the Auckland administration. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the design of government buildings. In 1846 the Auckland administration shed responsibility for provision of buildings in the Southern Division, all structures erected within its borders being designed by Wellington-based staff.

Further constitutional changes confirmed the autonomy of Wellington-based architects and engineers. In 1846 Britain legislated to provide for representative government in New Zealand and the division of the colony into two or more provinces. Franchise was to be extended to those who occupied a tenement and could read

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[1]Richmond, an army officer born in Scotland, served in Portugal from 1828 to 1829. From 1829 to c. 1838 he was Government Resident at Paxo in the Ionian Islands. He later moved with his regiment to New Brunswick and then to New South Wales. In June 1840 he was appointed one of the Commissioners of Land Claims in New Zealand. See A. H. McLintock, *Crown Colony Government in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1958, p. 164, f.n. 1.

[2]More precisely the Southern Division of New Zealand included 'Cook's Strait, and all places in New Zealand south of the river Otumatua near Cape Egmont, of a line thence to its source to the summit of Mount Egmont, thence to the summit of Mount Tongariro, (such line being taken along the highest ridge or watershed between the two summits), from Tongariro to the source of the river Wairoa, and thence along the said river to the sea'. See *ibid*, p. 164, f.n. 2.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. 165.

and write English. When the then Governor, (Sir) George Grey, raised objections to the legislation on the grounds that it would 'give to a minority made up of one race power to govern over a majority made up of another',[4] and that 'the Maori were unlikely to accept such injustice peacefully',[5] the introduction of fully representative institutions was deferred. In 1848 the constitutional clauses which provided for representative government were suspended for up to five years and Grey divided the colony into the two provinces proposed in 1846: New Ulster and New Munster, each (from November 1848) having their own Legislative Council.[6] The boundary between the provinces ran due east across the North Island from the mouth of the Patea River.[7] New Ulster, the northern province, took in the British settlements of Auckland and New Plymouth; New Munster, the settlements of Wanganui, Wellington, Nelson, and the whole of the South Island, where the further colonising ventures of Otago (1848) and Canterbury (1850) were established. Under the new constitutional arrangements the Auckland-based Superintendents of Public Works were responsible for design and construction of government buildings in New Ulster and the separate role of Wellington architects in designing buildings in the south (New Munster) was assured.

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[4]Keith Sinclair, 'Grey, George, 1812-1898', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One: 1769-1869* (W. H. Oliver, gen. ed.), Wellington, 1990, p. 161.

[5]*Ibid.*

[6]Note, however, that the New Ulster Legislative Council never met.

[7]'Now we do hereby proclaim and declare that so much of the said island of New Ulster, adjacent to Cook's Straits, which lies to the South of a line commencing at the centre of the mouth of the river Patea, where it joins the sea, and running thence due East, until it reaches the East coast of the said island... shall form part of the "Province of New Munster"'. *New Zealand Government Gazette*, 14 March 1848, p. 33.

Civil servants in both provinces reported in the first instance to a Lieutenant Governor and through him to the Governor, (Sir) George Grey (1812-98). Grey thereby retained ultimate responsibility for design of government buildings throughout New Zealand. His governorship of public works was notable, however, more for the emergence of a range of approaches towards design of government buildings than any over-arching policy. While some architects continued to erect timber buildings clad to imitate stone structures, others were influenced by the design principles of the Gothic Revival. Regardless of their approach, all came to realise that timber government buildings, previously thought of as temporary structures, would have to serve indefinitely.

Like his predecessors Grey was a military officer. Born in 1812 to Elizabeth Anne Vignoles and Lieutenant-Colonel George Grey, he entered the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, in 1827. Having embarked on a similar career path to Hobson and FitzRoy, Grey also became familiar with British architecture in 'infant' colonies before his appointment to New Zealand. He had led expeditions to explore the territory north of Perth in 1837 and 1839, and also in 1839 was appointed Resident Magistrate at King George Sound, Western Australia. He was Governor of South Australia from 1841 to 1845.[8]

Throughout his career he took a lively interest in the cultural life of the colonies he governed, though there is no evidence that this included an active interest in the 'art' of colonial

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[8]Grey's career following his (first) term as Governor of New Zealand (1845-53) was likewise devoted to administration of British colonies and politics. From 1854 he served as Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner of South Africa and then, from 1860 to 1868, a second term as Governor of New Zealand. From 1875 Grey was Superintendent of Auckland Province and a member of the General Assembly for Auckland City West. He was Premier of New Zealand from 1877 to 1879, remaining in Parliament until 1895 despite returning to England two years earlier.

architecture. Grey had a life-long interest in books but his large New Zealand library (which formed the nucleus of the Auckland Public Library collections)[9] contained only four works on architecture,[10] revealing that he had only a passing interest in the subject. Naturally, however, he sought to ensure that his surroundings reflected his own tastes. These are best revealed by the 'improvements' he made to Kawau Island. Previously mined for copper, Grey bought the island in 1862 intending to live there and create a botanical sanctuary and acclimatisation depot.

In all his work on the island, which included planting exotic trees and liberating foreign animals, Grey was aware of the picturesque qualities of the landscape and its potential for artistic improvement.[11] About 1865 Grey decided to enlarge the modest mine manager's house as his own residence, known as Mansion House, in a way which greatly enhanced its irregularity and picturesque massing. Further improvement of the landscape by retention of the smelting house (1847-49), Coppermine Pumphouse (1847)[12] and other disused

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[9]Grey also amassed impressive holdings in South Africa consisting of 'a large collection of writings on the African language, together with ... incunabula and manuscripts'. See A. H. McLintock (ed.), *Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 1, Wellington, 1966, p. 879. Grey gifted the collection to the Cape Town Library which he also established.

[10]See *Catalogue of the Auckland Public Library including Sir George Grey's Collection. New Zealand 1888*, Auckland, 1888, p. 218. The books (as listed in the catalogue) are: R. Kerr, *Gentleman's House* (1871); *Civil Architecture of Vitruvius* (1871); W. Kent, *Designs of Inigo Jones* (1727); O. Jones, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra* (1842). Grey also owned various works on the other fine arts. See *ibid.*, p. 221.

[11]For a contemporary view of the picturesque qualities of the island see James Grey, *His Island Home, and Away in the Far North: A Narrative of travels in that part of the Colony North of Auckland*, Wellington, 1879, p. 4.

[12]On this building see Susan Brierley, *The Story of Mansion House* [Warkworth], 1985 & Salmond Architects, 'Mansion House: A Conservation Plan', Auckland, 1991. (Copy held by New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington.)

mining structures as ruins enhanced the inherently picturesque qualities of the island.

Although interested in the aesthetics of the picturesque and of broadly eclectic taste, Grey made little impact on the way in which government architecture evolved in New Zealand. Doubtless his personal tastes influenced his choice of architects to fill the post of Superintendent of Public Works but he took only a cursory interest in the details of the designs submitted to him for approval. The Superintendents of Public Works therefore had considerable scope to shape the course of government architecture in both New Ulster and New Munster as they saw fit.

The first and most significant in the northern settlements (as defined in 1844) was Grey's architect at Kawau, Frederick Thatcher (1814-90). Born in Hastings, Sussex, Thatcher was by age 21 'In an architectural Office in London'.[13] A year later he was elected to the [Royal] Institute of British Architects, his election being supported by John Buonarrotti Papworth (1775-1847), Peter Frederick Robinson (1776-1858) and Henry Edward Kendall (1776-1875), architects whose work displays the same interest in picturesque utility evident in his own.[14]

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[13] *Alison Felstead*, Jonathan Franklin & Leslie Pinfield (comp.), *Directory of British Architects 1834-190*, London, 1993, p. 907.

[14] Jonathan Mane-Wheoki suggests that Thatcher may have worked for Peter Frederick Robinson, one of the architects who nominated him for election to the [Royal] Institute of British Architects. As Mane-Wheoki points out, some of Thatcher's designs derive from those in Robinson's, *Designs for Village Architecture, being a Series of Designs illustrating the Observations contained in the Essay on the Picturesque by Sir Uvedale Price*, 1837. Thatcher's stone addition to the parsonage at Te Henui (1845) derives from Robinson's 'Design No. 8: The Parsonage House', while 'Design No 7: The Work house' - "composed, in a degree, from old buildings in Gloucester" - articulates the structural principles of the exposed timber frame' developed by Thatcher. St. John's College Library held a copy of the fourth ('improved') edition of Robinson's *Designs for Village Architecture*. See Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, '"Temporary Edifices" Set New Directions', *New Zealand Historic Places*, no. 29, June 1990, p. 23 & Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, 'Selwyn Gothic: The Formative Years', *Art New Zealand*, no. 54, Autumn 1990, pp. 78-9.

Following the death of his first wife, Thatcher immigrated to New Zealand with his brother-in-law, Isaac Newton Watt, arriving in New Plymouth in December 1843. While living there he designed and supervised erection of the original portion of St Mary's Anglican Church, a stone chapel erected to plans adapted from Sampson Kempthorne's designs for St Stephen's Chapel, Parnell (1844),[15] and intended to form the chancel of the larger church which exists today.[16] Thatcher also designed Holy Trinity, Te Henui, New Plymouth (opened in May 1845), constructed of vertical slabs of rimu with a thatch roof, and a chapel for the mission station at Maraetai (1845).

In February 1845 he was recruited to serve as Superintendent of Public Works in Auckland, Grey finding it 'impossible to continue longer without some practical Builder to plan,- superintend,- and execute the various Publick Works, Repairs, Roads, Drainage, and Bridges, so essentially necessary - on however small a scale'.[17] As Grey pointed out, the then Superintendent of Public Works, David Rough, was 'very zealous' but 'had no knowledge of building' and, in any case, was fully occupied with his 'harbour and pilotage duties'.[18] Thatcher's appointment dated from 6 February 1845[19] and may have been linked with an ambitious proposal to build new government offices in Auckland; his appointment was formally notified the same day (8 February 1845) that he received instructions to

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[15]On this building see John Stacpoole, *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1976, p. 79.

[16]The only parts of the original chapel now standing are 'the north wall between the transept and the porch, and the trusses'. See Margaret Alington, *Goodly Stones and Timber: A History of St Mary's Church, New Plymouth*, New Plymouth, 1988, p. 6.

[17]PRO, CO 209/304, Despatch 45, 21 July 1845, f. 406.

[18]*Ibid.*

[19]IA, 12, 7.

prepare a rough plan for the offices.[20] The new offices Grey intended to build were, however, never erected and any designs Thatcher prepared for them have not survived.[21]

One of the colony's most talented architects, Thatcher was never in private architectural practice in New Zealand. More often than not he was employed directly by George Augustus Selwyn, the first Anglican Bishop of New Zealand, or by Grey himself. Although Thatcher's work for Selwyn has attracted more attention than his governmental work,[22] his role as a colonial bureaucrat and government architect was significant. He served as Grey's Assistant Private Secretary from 1846 to 1848 and later (from 1864 to 1868) as his Private Secretary. When in February 1868 Grey left New Zealand for Britain, Thatcher also returned to Britain, his prospects of suitable employment in the colony much reduced.[23] The friendship between the two men was such that Thatcher named his only child, Ernest Grey, after Sir George and Lady Grey who were also his son's god-parents.

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[20]See IA, 4, 260, entry 210, m[emo] 45/26, dated 8 February 1845. The building was to include 'a council room, office, colonial secretary's and record offices, treasury - audit and attorney general's offices, survey and land offices' under one roof. Thatcher was instructed that it was 'to be of the plainest but most solid construction on one floor but with excavations beneath the whole, - and to be so constructed that with the exception of the Council Room which should be lighted and ventilated from above, [that] an additional floor may be built at a future time.'

[21]The only drawing signed by Thatcher located in the National Archives' collections, Wellington, is a plan for altering the internal layout of the Public Offices, Princes Street, Auckland, and adding porches to the building. The drawing is held as IA, 1, 1846/273, sep. 37 and related correspondence as IA, 1, 1846/993. An unsigned cross section of a proposed sewer (W, 50, 1, letter 1845/74) may also be by Thatcher's hand.

[22]In addition to the other sources noted, published works on Thatcher's ecclesiastical architecture include Margaret Alington, *Frederick Thatcher and St Paul's: An Ecclesiological Study*, Wellington, 1965 & Cyril Knight, *The Selwyn Churches of Auckland*, Auckland, 1972, especially pp. 17-8, 23, 25-7, 30-1, 37-8, 41-55.

[23]Selwyn had in January that year been translated to Lichfield. After also returning to Britain, Thatcher continued to serve him.

Ultimately the church rather than the state benefited most from Thatcher's broad range of skills. Even the work Thatcher undertook as Superintendent of Public Works was influenced by his association with Selwyn (a patron of the Cambridge Camden Society and an 'avowed Puginian'),[24] and his exposure to the ideas of the Ecclesiologists.[25] Although not 'a member of either the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture or the Cambridge Camden [later Ecclesiological] Society',[26] Thatcher's work exemplifies the application of the Ecclesiologist's ideas to New Zealand conditions. Among his best known works are the chapel and collegiate buildings he designed and constructed at St John's College (a composite theological college, collegiate and industrial school), established by Selwyn.[27] It was in the design of College Chapel (1847) and other churches prefabricated at the College (such as St. Barnabas Church, Auckland, 1848-9) that Thatcher developed a form of revealed timber construction, influenced by the Ecclesiologist's ideas, which he used in his government work.[28]

Replaced as Superintendent of Public Works when he became Grey's Assistant Private Secretary in late 1846,[29] Thatcher was

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[24]Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, '"Temporary Edifices" Set New Directions', p. 22.

[25]For a detailed account of the Ecclesiologists see James F. White, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival*, Cambridge, 1979.

[26]Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, '"Temporary Edifices" Set New Directions', p. 22.

[27]On the buildings at St. John's College see R. M. Ross, 'Bishop's Auckland', *Historic Buildings of New Zealand: North Island*, Auckland, 1983, pp. 80-9.

[28]For a fuller biographical outline of Thatcher's life and career see Margaret Alington, 'Thatcher, Frederick 1814-1890', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One: 1769-1869* (W. H. Oliver, gen. ed.), Wellington, 1990, p. 532.

[29]The exact date has not been uncovered. Thatcher was still performing his duties as Superintendent of Public Works in mid November 1846. Presumably, therefore, he was appointed Grey's Assistant Private Secretary in either late November or early December 1846.

succeeded by Charles Ligar. Once again Ligar undertook the duties of Superintendent of Public Works as an adjunct to his work as Surveyor-General, and his lack of architectural training was not perceived as an impediment to the successful administration of the public works. Ligar was mainly responsible for minor additions, alterations and repairs to government buildings[30] and he was able to delegate architectural work to architects employed in his office, notably Reader Gilson Wood (1821-95).[31]

Appointed to the Survey Department as an Assistant Surveyor on 26 October 1847,[32] Wood was designated Superintendent of Roads on 10 January 1848[33] and 'Superintendent of Public Works and Government Architect' of New Ulster on 1 November 1849.[34] He was Deputy Surveyor General from 1 March 1852.[35] The first person in New

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[30]A list of works with which Ligar would have been associated in 1847 is contained in IA, 12, 8. The list includes mainly minor repairs and alterations, viz: repairs to Government House; repairs and additions to Public Offices (begun January 1847 and finished that year) & repairs and additions to the Courthouse and Buildings (begun February 1847 and finished that year). Works of a similarly minor nature were undertaken in 1848 and 1849. See IA, 12, 9 & IA, 12, 10.

[31]Wood was appointed to the Survey Department a few months after James Baber with whom he later worked in private practice. Baber was in March 1849 described as 'the clerk in the office of Public Works' (see W, 50, 1, entry 5 March 1849), suggesting that he was regarded as junior to Wood. Certainly Wood, rather than Baber, received most, if not all, of the architectural work delegated by Ligar. IA, 12, 9 lists the following minor works 'executed under the direction of the Superintendent of Roads' in 1848, i.e. Reader Wood: constructing stables, begun in November (see W, 50, 1, 13 October 1848; 7 December 1848 & 18 December 1848); fencing pathways around Government House, begun in July (see W, 50, 1, 12 June 1848) & fencing the Auckland Park, begun in August 1848 (see W, 50, 1, 19 October 1848). Wood was also involved with construction of a coal shed on the North Shore, Auckland (see W, 50, 1, 28 March 1848).

Before his appointment as Government Architect and Superintendent of Public Works Wood was responsible for repairs to the Colonial Hospital begun in March 1849 and finished that year. See IA, 12, 10. In addition he superintended construction of government buildings when Thatcher visited his sick brother-in-law in Taranaki (Isaac Watt) in 1845. See W, 50, 1, letter 1845/106, 13 December 1845.

[32]IA, 12, 8.

[33]IA, 12, 9.

[34]IA, 12, 7.

[35]IA, 12, 12.

Zealand to hold the title of Government Architect, Wood was accorded a status denied Mason and Thatcher, the other professional architects who had worked for the civil establishment.

Born at Highfields, Leicestershire and educated in London,[36] Wood trained as an architect and surveyor under William Flint (1801-1862) of Leicester.[37] Flint's 'recorded buildings are nearly all classical and show him to have been a competent designer in the Greek Revival style'.[38] His influence on Wood's New Zealand work was limited. Flint's City Library, Belvoir Street, Leicester (1831) is 'Stuccoed and Grecian with giant Doric pilasters, parapet, and closed-in porch'.[39] It displays none of the picturesque utility or concern for the honest use of materials which is evident in some of Wood's designs and all of Thatcher's.

Prior to his appointment as Superintendent of Public Works in New Zealand Wood had undertaken a wide range of work. He was in private practice as an architect and surveyor from c.1845 to 1848, and again from 1856 when he was also a land agent and sharebroker. In 1857 he was elected to the Auckland Provincial Council for the Suburbs of Auckland,[40] though he 'devoted his time solely to his business' from 1865 to 1870.

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[36]F. W. Furkert, *Early New Zealand Engineers* (W. L. Newnham, ed.), Wellington, 1953, p. 296. See also C. A. Lawn, 'The Pioneer Land Surveyors of New Zealand' (unpublished manuscript), Wellington, 1977, p. 302. (Held by A.T.L. & Macmillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury).

[37]See 'Mr Reader Wood, M.G.A.', *New Zealand Herald*, 18 June 1881, p. 6.

[38]H. M. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of English Architects 1600-1840*, London, 1978, p. 309.

[39]Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Leicestershire and Rutland*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1973 (first published 1960), p. 153. See also on the City Library, Leicester, *ibid.*, p. 41, and on Flint's Phoenix Insurance (1842) *ibid.*, p. 158.

[40]'Mr. Reader Wood, M.G.A.', *New Zealand Herald*, 18 June 1881, p. 6 & also Guy H. Scholefield (ed.), *New Zealand Parliamentary Record 1840-1949*, Wellington, 1950, p. 186.

Few of his works have been positively identified.[41] The utilitarian Bluestone Store, Durham Lane, Auckland (c. 1861) is one of the few extant secular buildings believed to have been designed by him.[42] He may also have been responsible for the substantial additions to Alfred Buckland's house, Highwic, Auckland (c. 1860, additions 1862)[43] designed to complement the original house, the design of which was drawn from American pattern books.[44] However, an insufficient number of Wood's works have been identified to draw meaningful conclusions about the relationship between his private and governmental works.

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[41]The following tender notices have been uncovered in the *New Zealand Herald* under Wood's name: house near Mt Hobson (January 1864); shop, High Street (April 1864); dwelling, Parnell (July 1864) [with Baber]; cottage near Mt Smart (June 1866); cottage near lake, North Shore (February 1867); church at Epsom (June 1867); wooden additions to Native Land Court, Princes Street (July 1867); store at Shortland, now known as Thames (October 1867); villa, Remuera (January 1868). (Compiled from Terence Hodgson's typescript of tender notices in *New Zealand Herald*, Wellington.) With the exception of the church at Epsom (St Andrew's), none of these buildings has been positively identified.

Tenders were also called for a brick store in Vulcan Lane by Wood and Baber in the *New Zealander*, 8 January 1862. Again, this building has not been identified.

[42]The attribution is based on a tender notice in the *Daily Southern Cross*, 15 March 1861, p. 1. On the Bluestone Store see Nerida Campbell, 'Bishop Selwyn and the Stonemason John Benjamin Strange', *Regional Responses: Papers and Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians of Australia and New Zealand, Christchurch, New Zealand 6-8 July 1991* (Ian Lochhead, ed.), Christchurch, 1995, p. 110 & Salmond Architects, 'The Bluestone Store, Durham Lane, Auckland: A Conservation Plan', Auckland, n.d., p. 6. Salmond Architects point out that the 'arch in the east wall entrance [of the Bluestone Store] is strikingly similar in scale and detail to the fireplace arch in the Melanesian Mission', lending further credence to the attribution of Bluestone Store to Wood.

[43]Baber and Wood called tenders for additions to Highwic in the *New Zealander*, 1 January 1862.

[44]On the influence of pattern books by A. J. Downing, A. J. Davis and C. Vaux on the design of the original part of the house (now known as the eastern wing) see Anne I. Neale, 'The American Timber Cottage in Australasia 1850-1900', 700-542 Research Report, Department of Architecture and Building, University of Melbourne, 1982, pp. 17-19, 25-6, 72 & pp. 1-2 of Appendix I; Anne I. Neale, 'Romantic Medievalism and the Australasian House: An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Medieval Domestic Architecture in Australia and New Zealand', M. Arch. Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1988, vol. 1, pp. 152-3 & Anne Neale, 'The Origins of Highwic', *New Zealand Historic Places*, no. 39, December 1992, pp. 4-7.

In New Zealand, Wood appears mainly to have acted as a clerk of works and therefore virtually as the handmaiden to the architectural ideas of his professional colleagues. Prior to his appointment as Superintendent of Public Works and Government Architect of New Ulster he also worked as Thatcher's assistant at St. John's College on the construction of buildings at the College and timber churches prefabricated in its workshops - All Saints' Church, Howick, 1847-49, for example.[45] He is also credited with designing the Melanesian Mission Building, Mission Bay (1858) 'very much in Thatcher's idiom'[46] as well as providing specifications for construction of John Kinder's design for St Andrew's, Epsom (1867), a building also very much in Thatcher's (late) idiom for timber churches.[47] To judge by these works alone, Wood was an adaptable and versatile architect, capable of producing ecclesiastical works acceptable to Thatcher and Selwyn despite his training in an office devoted to design in the classical styles.

Though no less capable in administering a programme of public works, the staff in the Southern Division and the province of New Munster came from very different backgrounds from those in the north. Unlike the office of the Superintendents of Public Works in Auckland,

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[45]Peter Shaw, *New Zealand Architecture From Polynesian Beginnings to 1990*, Auckland, 1991, p. 26, notes that Wood 'probably assisted' with the design of All Saints Church, Howick (1847).

[46]Ian J. Lochhead, 'Research Report on St. John's College Chapel, Auckland', unpublished research report prepared for the Buildings Classification Committee of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 1976, p. 2 of 'Statement of Significance'. For a full account of the Melanesian Mission see R. M. Ross, *Melanesians at Mission Bay: A History of the Melanesian Mission in Auckland* [Wellington], 1983.

[47]On Reader Wood's association with St Andrew's, Epsom, and the subsequent history of the church see John Cattell, 'St Andrew's, Epsom: John Kinder as Architect', *Historic Places in New Zealand*, no. 11, December 1985, pp. 5-7 & Michael Dunn, *John Kinder: Paintings and Photographs*, Auckland, 1985, pp. 95-9.

the Wellington office, if not itself paramilitary, was heavily dependent on military staff and expertise. On 20 November 1846 Grey appointed Lt. T. B. Collinson to the temporary post of 'Colonial Engineer of the Southern District', with responsibility for the Wairarapa Road and 'any Public Buildings in the course of erection'.[48] Collinson in turn delegated the work of designing and supervising construction of government buildings to one of his staff, Thomas Henry Fitzgerald (1824-88).

Born in Carrickmacross, County Monaghan, Ireland, Fitzgerald arrived in New Zealand in 1842 as an Assistant Surveyor to the New Zealand Company.[49] He was appointed to the staff of the Civil Government on 1 July 1844 as a surveyor and, in addition, 'Surveyor and Superintendent of Public Works and of Civil Roads' without pay in 1847.[50] Although he reported to Lt. Collinson, he was not a Royal Engineer or military officer.[51] In New Zealand he was responsible for the design of both civil and military works; his largest and most significant military building was the Porirua Barracks.[52] While he sometimes signed himself 'Architect and C[ivil] E[ngineer]',[53] he

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[48]NM, 8, 1846/563, 20 November 1846.

[49]See Scholefield, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. I, Wellington, 1940, p. 259. See also Lawn, p. 91.

[50]See IA, 12, 8.

[51]No record is held of him at the Royal Engineers Library, Brompton Barracks, Chatham, Kent. Correspondence with the Assistant Librarian, Royal Engineers Library, Brompton Barracks, Chatham, Kent, 9 January 1995.

[52]On this work see, for example, entry 46/205 in register NM, 9, 1 & also NM, 8, 47/514, James Wilson to Fitzgerald, 2 August 1847. Fitzgerald also prepared a cross section for a building to be erected in the Hutt stockade see NM, 8, 46/205.

[53]See NM, 8, 47/514, James Wilson to Fitzgerald, 2 August 1847. Had Fitzgerald trained as a military officer he would have used the abbreviation, R. E. (Royal Engineer).

spent most of his career as a surveyor, interrupted or complemented by periods in provincial and colonial politics.[54]

Of the many staff working for Fitzgerald as surveyors and draftsmen,[55] Henry John Cridland (1821-67) was the most significant. Cridland's early career also illustrates the close and somewhat ambiguous relationship between the military and civil establishments in the Southern Division. Arriving in Wellington in 1843, he was employed in the Survey Department, Wellington, as a temporary Overseer of Public Works from late July 1846[56] until June 1847, though even before his appointment he had prepared a project for a court house for Wellington.[57] When he left his position as Overseer of Public Works in June 1847 it was to take up 'a vacancy for a[n acting] clerk of works in the Royal Engineers'[58] Ordnance Department. Although he was not a military engineer,[59] he accepted the appointment on the understanding that it would be no impediment to

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[54]Fitzgerald first entered politics in 1857-8 when he was a member of the Wellington Provincial Council for Ahuriri. He was also member of the House of Representatives for the County of Hawke from April 1860 to November of that year and a member of the Hawkes Bay Provincial Council from 1859 to 1861. See Scholefield (ed.), *New Zealand Parliamentary Record 1840-1949*, pp. 106, 201 & 238. In 1862 he left New Zealand for Queensland where he again worked as a surveyor and entered Parliament. Fitzgerald served in Queensland's Parliament in 1867-9 and in 1873-5. He was forced to resign his seat in 1875 when he was declared insolvent, presumably as the result of the failure of a sugar plantation he established. Following his resignation he again turned to surveying to make a living, a profession from which he retired in 1885. See Scholefield, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 1, p. 259.

[55]Fitzgerald had four assistant surveyors and one draftsman (Cridland) in 1847. See IA, 12, 8.

[56]NM, 8, 46/401, Richmond to Grimstone, 25 July 1846.

[57]See NM, 8, 46/232.

[58]NM, 8, 47/380, letter dated 30 June 1847 & NM, 4, 1, transcript of letter 24, p. 142.

[59]No record of Cridland is held by the Royal Engineers Library, Brompton Barracks, Chatham, Kent. Correspondence with Assistant Librarian, Royal Engineers Library, Brompton Barracks, Chatham, Kent, 9 January 1995. The MacDonald Biography on Cridland (MacDonald Biographies, Canterbury Museum Library) observes that although Cridland is said to have held a commission in the Royal Engineers 'as he was only 20 when he arrived in Wgtn [in 1843] this is not very likely'.

obtaining a more suitable appointment 'in the Colonial Civil Service should the opportunity occur.'[60] It was also a condition of his acceptance that he would undertake work for the civil establishment while employed by the Royal Engineers.

Cridland's only task as Acting Clerk for the Royal Engineers was the conversion of Colonel Wakefield's prefabricated cottage, Wellington, into a suitable residence for the Lieutenant Governor, Edward John Eyre.[61] Though he was regarded as 'the architect to His Excellency Edward John Eyre Esq.',[62] he had been commissioned to work on the house only because 'the Govt had no person in their employment available as an Architect except Mr Thomas Fitzgerald and he was so fully occupied with the other and more important duties connected with the Roads'.[63] On completion of the house in 1848, Cridland found that no work was available in the civil service. As a result, he was at first 'dependent for his support upon his profession as an architect' in private practice,[64] though in July 1849 he secured an appointment as the Canterbury Association's Superintendent of Public Works.[65]

Cridland's architectural work in New Zealand, though of only modest architectural pretensions, reveals a wider architectural

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[60]NM, 8, 1847/380, letter dated 30 June 1847. See also NM, 4, 1, transcript of letter 24, p. 142.

[61]On this work see NM, 8, 47/291; NM, 4, 1, pp. 43 (transcript of letter 37), 55 (transcript of letter 38) & 91 (transcript of letter 81) & Stephen Cashmore, 'A Home for the Governor', *New Zealand Historic Places*, no. 46, March 1994, pp. 24-25, which draws on these and other sources.

[62]NM, 8, 47/842.

[63]NM, 4, 1, transcript of letter 24, p. 142.

[64]*Ibid.*

[65]Although this was not a government posting, it was regarded as quasi-official by the civil administration. The Blue Book for New Munster for 1852 (NM, 11, 4) lists public works undertaken by the Canterbury Association even though they were not paid for by the Government.

vocabulary than that associated with the Royal Engineers'.[66] His credentials as an architect are, however, as uncertain as Fitzgerald's. Possibly he had no formal training. The *New Zealand Journal* described him as 'enthusiastically devoted to his profession as an architect: so much so, as to induce us to smile at his plans before his departure'.[67] By his own account, architecture was a profession the study of which was 'more an amusement rather than a task',[68] suggesting that it may have been merely an adjunct to, or diversion from, other pursuits. His death certificate records his profession as 'surveyor'.[69] Possibly Cridland was self-taught in the tradition of the gentleman architect.

Whatever the nature of his (and Fitzgerald's) training, the Wellington-based officers prepared designs of a very different character from those created in the north. Since the southern office was itself different in character from its northern counterpart, the

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[66]The most primitive of his works were depicted by Felix Wakefield in one of his scrapbooks, see micro-ms-coll-20-2794, A.T.L. As well as erecting the extemporised structures Wakefield depicts, Cridland is credited with designing a number of simple Gothic churches: St Peter's, Te Aro (1848); St James' Church, Lower Hutt (1848-9); an unexecuted project for a 'cruciform Gothic church' and the first portion of St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Christchurch (1857). On all of these churches see Jonathan Mané, 'New Zealand's First European Architects', *New Zealand Historic Places*, no. 28, March 1990, p. 41; on the Te Aro and Lower Hutt churches, Chris Cochran, 'Styles of Sham and Genuine Simplicity: Timber Buildings in Wellington to 1880', *The Making of Wellington 1800-1914* (David Hamer & Roberta Nicholls, eds.), Wellington, 1990, pp. 114-5; on St. James', Lower Hutt, Charles Fearnley, *Early Wellington Churches* (Julie Bremner, ed.), Wellington, 1977, pp. 203-205 & on St. Andrew's, Christchurch, and the subsequent reconstruction, enlargement and shifting of the church, John Wilson, 'New Site Has Saved Historic Church', unsourced newspaper clipping, Canterbury Regional Office, New Zealand Historic Places Trust. Both Cridland and Fitzgerald produced designs for Judge Chapman's House, Wellington, though Chapman was impressed by neither design. See Cochran, p. 114. Cridland is also credited with an unexecuted design for a Mechanics Institute, see *ibid* & Mané, 'New Zealand's First European Architects', p. 41.

[67]*New Zealand Journal*, 23 November 1844, p. 635.

[68]*Ibid.*

[69]Cochran, p. 114, describes Cridland as a survey draughtsman, a description based on Cridland's title in the Survey Department.

emergence of a diverse range of solutions to the problems of housing government institutions was almost inevitable.

The most significant designs were those devised for the Colonial Hospitals built in Auckland and New Plymouth (designed by Frederick Thatcher) and Wellington and Wanganui (designed by Thomas Fitzgerald). Considered as a group, they 'document' the state of government architecture c. 1847 as practised in the northern settlements and the Southern Division. Seen within the wider context of the evolution of government architecture from 1840 to 1922, they are of singular significance. While lunatic asylums were designed by governmental architects from about 1890 and Maternity Hospitals from the early 1920s, hospitals were usually designed by architects in private practice.

The construction of state-funded hospitals in the 1840s was, however, due as much to Grey's aspirations for race relations in the colony as a desire to improve public health. As early as 1840 Grey had become interested in devising ways of ensuring that the indigenous people of the British colonies assimilated with British settlers.[70] In his view, hospitals could play an important part in the process. He hoped that by providing free treatment for Maori in government hospitals they would willingly seek western treatments. Once admitted to the hospitals, they would - Grey envisaged - be compelled to mix with the European, fee-paying patients, ensuring integration.

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[70]According to Grey, assimilation could be effected by religious conversion, enforcement of British law and provision of jobs and education. When appointed Governor of New Zealand he pursued many of these goals, appointing Resident Magistrates to enforce British law in Maori districts and subsidising Mission Schools which were required to teach English.

In practice the colonial hospitals did not function as Grey planned. Europeans tended to regard them as 'Native Hospitals' and preferred to seek alternative medical advice.[71] Maori who sought western treatments also preferred to be treated as 'outpatients' rather than in the hospitals themselves.[72] Grey and the Colonial Surgeons were nevertheless pleased with the number of Maori who did seek treatment and reported favourably on the hospitals to the Colonial Office. After receiving a report on the New Plymouth Colonial Hospital Earl Grey, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, therefore expressed his 'great satisfaction at learning how beneficial the establishment of the hospital has proved to the natives and poorer class of settlers residing in its vicinity'.[73]

In spite of their intended purpose in facilitating integration of Maori and European, much of the medical and architectural thinking about the design of New Zealand's hospital buildings was inherited directly from Britain. When they were erected the design of hospitals was, in Britain, a hotly contested issue. Most British hospitals did not differ significantly from other large public buildings and many in the medical profession were highly critical of them. Florence Nightingale, the most famous of the campaigners for hospital reform, summed up the principal concerns of the reformers when she declared that

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[71]On the extent to which the New Plymouth Colonial Hospital was 'a dismal failure' as a combined European and Maori hospital see Gail E. Lambert, 'The Colonial Hospital: New Plymouth', *New Zealand Family Physician*, no. 9, 1982, p. 5.

[72]A few, according to Dr Peter Wilson, Colonial Surgeon at New Plymouth, feigned illnesses to stay at his hospital. See *ibid.*

[73][British] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1850 (1280), vol. XXXVII, p. 153, reprinted in *Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers, Correspondence and Papers Relating to Native Inhabitants the New Zealand Company and Other Affairs of the Colony 1847-50: Colonies, New Zealand 6*, Shannon, Ireland 1969.

> No ward is in any sense a good ward in which the sick are not at all times supplied with pure air, light, and a due temperature. These are the results to be obtained from hospital architecture, and not external design or appearance.[74]

To ensure that the hospitals had 'pure air' Nightingale and other sanitarians sought the widespread removal of town hospitals to the countryside. Still opposed to their removal at mid century were 'medical staffs and consultants' who wanted hospitals to remain in the city centres 'both for ease of their own access plus that of the hospital staff and patients'.[75] Many believed that hospitals outside the town 'would never be able to be used by those who most needed them'.[76] These conflicting views were reflected, in different ways, in the design and siting of New Zealand's Colonial Hospitals.

Those designed by Thatcher were considered the least successful by medical professionals but they are of special significance in the history of timber construction in New Zealand and the high-point of Thatcher's work as Superintendent of Public Works.[77] His first Colonial hospital was built in Auckland. Although erected in timber, stone construction was considered; tenders were called in October[78] and November 1846[79] for a stone building but all were considered too

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[74]Florence Nightingale, *Notes on Hospitals*, 3rd ed., London, 1863, p. 35, as quoted in Jeremy Taylor, *Hospital and Asylum Architecture in England 1840-1914, Building for Health Care*, London, 1991, p. 83.

[75]*Ibid.*

[76]*Ibid.*

[77]Most of Thatcher's work was of only minor significance. Examples include repairs to 'the wharf' (see IA, 4, 260, m[emo] 45/51, entry 414, 23, 17 March 1845); arranging for 'two sentry boxes to be made and painted' for the lawn of Government House (see IA, 4, 260, m45/55, 214, 22, 21 April 1845) & repairs to Government House (see IA, 12, 7).

[78]A tender notice for the hospital was inserted in *New Zealand Government Gazette*, 12 October 1846, p. 79.

[79]*Ibid.*, 19 November 1846, p. 96.

high.[80] Accordingly Thatcher recommended that the hospital be built of timber with scoria foundations 'as increased accommodations can thus be obtained for a much smaller outlay'.[81]

Construction of the hospital in an area of land then known as Auckland Park, now part of the Auckland Hospital site, was begun by
15. March 1847.[82] The building was completed and in use by 27 November that year.[83] It had four large wards of eight to ten beds; two smaller ones of five beds; a surgery; kitchen; loft; three small staff rooms and a detached morgue or dead-house.[84] Construction was supervised by Reader Wood.[85]

The New Plymouth Colonial Hospital, the only one of Grey's four
16. colonial hospitals which stands today,[86] was likewise built of timber

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[80]The lowest tender for the stone work was £877.13.0, considerably more than the £500 estimated for its construction.

[81]See IA, 1, 46/1833 contained with IA, 1, 47/1715.

[82]'Specification For Works to Be Done for the Erection of a Hospital in the Auckland Park; Masons' (copy) contained with IA, 1, 47/1715. In 1890 the hospital was purposefully burned down and the Costley Wards of the Auckland Public Hospital built on the site.

[83]See Frank Charles Rauch, 'The History of the Auckland Hospital and Auckland Hospital and Charitable Aid Board, 1847-1914', M.A. Thesis (History), Auckland, 1933, p. 26, quoting *New Zealander*, 27 November 1847, viz: 'the institution was sufficiently well advanced towards completion as to be open for the reception of patients'.

[84]Substantial additions were made in 1859-60, comprising a ward 48 by 17 feet [24.6 by 5.18 m], a day room of similar size and a bathroom with boiler, furnace and cistern. Tenders were called for the ward in February 1859. See *Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, 7 February 1859, p. 41. The ward was opened in July 1860. See *ibid.*, 20 July 1860, p. 17. Additions were made in 1865 comprising male and female wards, enlargement of the kitchen and construction of a new morgue to replace the original deadhouse which had collapsed. See Rauch, p. 28.

[85]See IA, 1, 47/1715.

[86]In 1867 the property was passed over to the Taranaki Provincial Government who 'were reluctant charges and virtually forgot about the place, which soon fell into disrepair'. See Gail E. Lambert, 'The Colonial Hospital: New Plymouth', *New Zealand Family Physician*, no. 9, 1982, p. 5. Repairs were made in 1872 when, during a small-pox scare, it was decided that a quarantine station was required. There was no outbreak of small-pox, however. In 1880 the building became an old men's home known as the refuge. (See *ibid.*, p. 7.) The site on which the Colonial Hospital was located was set aside as an educational reserve in March 1903 and the building auctioned for removal that year. The hospital was bought by Mr Newton King who shifted it to the Brooklands site on which it remains. Now owned by the New Plymouth City Council, it is known as the 'Gables'.

with stone foundations. The specifications for its construction are dated 12 November 1846 and a plan for the building was forwarded to New Plymouth the following month. Construction was under way by 19 April 1847[87] but the hospital was not completed until 13 September 1848,[88] almost ten months after its Auckland counterpart. The New Plymouth building was erected on the town belt on a site between Mangorei Road and the Henui River.[89] Strategically sited in a country setting which was believed to assist healing, it was thus also close to the European town of New Plymouth. It had a dispensary as well as most of the facilities of its Auckland counterpart, including a kitchen, living quarters and detached morgue. Some of the living quarters were used as an additional ward from 1849.[90]

The Auckland and New Plymouth buildings are similar in design. Both recall Thatcher's churches, his chapel for the Mission Station

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Taranaki historian, Fred Butler, has asserted that only 'one half of 'The Gables' is the original building, the other half being added in the '60's'. See Fred B. Butler, *Early Days, Taranaki*, New Plymouth, 1942, p. 19. This cannot be substantiated. Butler's claims arise from confusion between the Colonial and Military hospitals in New Plymouth. (A Provincial Military Hospital was built on the site of Kawau Pa, Gill Street, central New Plymouth, in 1863, and additions made to it in 1867.) See notes on 'the Gables', New Zealand Historic Places Trust Vertical File, Wellington.

[87]Diary of John Newland (Ms. Taranaki Museum), 19 April 1848.

[88]See IA, 1, 53/580. An entry dated 19 September 1848 in the Diary of John Newland (Ms. Taranaki Museum) also records the completion of the hospital.

[89]The site is now part of New Plymouth Girls' High School.

[90]Originally the hospital had only two wards but in 1849 the then Surgeon, Peter Wilson, stated that the building had three. (See Peter Wilson, 'First Annual Report of the Colonial Hospital of New Plymouth', *New Zealand Government Gazette: Province of New Ulster*, 30 April 1850, p. 49.) A number of historians have investigated the possibility that an additional ward was added, notably Ron Lambert, Director of the Taranaki Museum. Lambert concluded that Wilson's full description of the hospital layout 'tallies so exactly with the present lay-out that I cannot accept the assertion'. See R. E. Lambert to F. Porter, 14 December 1977, 'Gables' Vertical File, New Zealand Historic Places Trust. Frances Porter likewise concluded that 'there is no real structural evidence for this [the addition of a ward]. MacShane [the first Surgeon] lived at the hospital, Wilson did not. It is likely that one of MacShane's rooms, adapted as living quarters became Wilson's front ward'. See Frances Porter, 'New Plymouth Buildings', *Historic Buildings of New Zealand: North Island*, Auckland, 1983 edition, p. 180. Frances Porter reiterated this view in conversation in March 1994.

at Maraetai, 1845, for example. The immediate precursor, however, was Thatcher's St John's College Hospital, construction of which was under way when the New Plymouth and Auckland Colonial Hospitals were designed. Of the two, the parallels between the Auckland Colonial Hospital and St John's College Hospital are the stronger. Like the College Hospital, the Auckland Colonial Hospital had an H-plan. The decision to construct it in timber rather than stone also echoed developments at St John's College where stone construction was abandoned in favour of timber because the contractors for stone work 'were unreliable, and the materials unsatisfactory and expensive'.[91]

The Puginian concept of 'picturesque utility', central to the Ecclesiologist's thinking, was the guiding principle in the design of both hospitals. The wards were expressed in the elevations as gables which, as the Ecclesiologists demanded of churches, were steeply pitched. The polygonal form of the dispensary of the New Plymouth was likewise expressive of the special and distinct function of that part of the building. Its form recalls the apsidal ends of many of Thatcher's churches, such as those of St. John's College Chapel (1847), inspired by a plan in Rev. John Louis Petit's *Remarks on Church Architecture* (1841).[92] Thatcher was later to incorporate a similar polygonal room at the junction of two wings in his design for the Old Deanery, Parnell (1857).[93]

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[91]Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, 'Selwyn Gothic: The Formative Years', p. 78.

[92]J. L. Petit, *Remarks on Church Architecture*, London, 1841 (2 vols.). See Ian J. Lochhead, *From Palladianism to the Gothic Revival: Two Centuries of British Architectural Books* (Exhibition Catalogue), Christchurch, 1987, catalogue entry 27. Mrs Selwyn records in her *Memoirs* that St John's College Chapel, Auckland (1847), was built 'on a plan much favoured by the Bishop [Selwyn], partly on his own design and partly gathered from drawings by Mr Petit'. Both Selwyn and Wood owned copies of Petit's *Remarks on Church Architecture.*

[93]See the ground and first floor plans of the Deanery in Anglican Trusts Board, 'General Church Trust, Old Deanery: Conservation Plan' (Draft),

The Ecclesiologist's moral and aesthetic concern to ensure truthfulness and honesty is nowhere more evident than in the cladding of the buildings. Although they have been referred to as 'single skin structures' with 'the framing timber... being on the exterior',[94] their cladding was more accurately described by Thatcher as 'panel work'.[95] As Thatcher infers, the cladding was conceived as a form of infill between the studs. At Auckland the vertical 'ploughed and tongued boards' with battens over the joints were, according to the specifications for construction of the building, to be nailed 'to the middle rail and curved braces [of the timber frame] from the inside'[96] of the building, essentially as infill between the studs and top and bottom plates. Boards were then to be nailed over 'the intermediate studs' on the inside of the building, and the vertical cladding subsequently nailed (from the outside of the building) to the boards. At the corners of the building the vertical cladding was to be nailed to 1½ inch [38.1 mm] fillets rebated into the corner studs. All the cladding was first to be nailed up 'in a temporary manner' until the whole of the building was finished when the temporary nails were 'to be drawn, the whole wedged up and nailed, braced and filleted'.[97] The method of cladding used at New Plymouth was similar, though fillets were rebated into all the studs and the vertical cladding boards nailed (from the outside) to them rather than to boards nailed over the studs.[98]

Parnell, March 1993, unpaginated. Copy held by the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington.

[94]Ross, 'Bishop's Auckland', *Historic Buildings of New Zealand: North Island*, p. 83.

[95]IA, 1, 47/1715, 'Specification, Carpenter', p. 5.

[96]*Ibid*, p. 2.

[97]*Ibid*.

[98]See IA, 1, 53/580.

At both hospitals this method of cladding solved the aesthetic 'problem' which had concerned Rev. W. C. Cotton (Selwyn's chaplain and a member of the Cambridge Camden Society) when he observed of Thatcher's Holy Trinity, Te Henui (1845), New Plymouth:

> One thing I am not at all satisfied with. The wall plate is not shown from within - so that the inside lining seems standing by itself. How is this achieved in Greensted Church?[99]

Unlike the walls of the Colonial Hospitals, those of Holy Trinity, Te Henui (and St Andrew's, Greenstead, c. 1013) were constructed of logs but for Cotton the moral and aesthetic imperative of revealing the top and bottom plates was the same for both buildings.

A concern for honest expression is also evident in the finishing of the timber. Thatcher specified that, like St. John's College Chapel (1847), the exterior of the Colonial Hospitals should be rendered 'over three times with good boiled linseed oil'.[100] Concerned that this treatment was inadequate, Henry King, Resident Magistrate of New Plymouth, informed the Colonial Secretary in 1848 that unless the New Plymouth Colonial Hospital was painted 'this summer the exposure to the sun and weather must cause it considerable injury'.[101] Thatcher disagreed. If rendered over with boiled linseed oil, he said, nothing more need be done

> until the ensuing autumn when it [the exterior of the building] might be painted, or what would be better to preserve the fine colour of the wood, it might again be rendered over twice with boiled oil, with a small quantity of japan in it.[102]

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[99]Rev. Cotton as quoted in Mane-Wheoki, '"Temporary Edifices" Set New Directions', p. 22.

[100]IA, 1, 53/580.

[101]*Ibid.* King to Superintendent [of the Southern Division?], 13 September 1848.

[102]*Ibid.*, Minute, Thatcher to Superintendent [of the Southern Division?], 28 September 1848.

The treatment of the timber Thatcher specified thus enhanced its natural qualities,[103] taking the doctrine of honest expression of the nature of materials to its logical conclusion.

Although ecclesiological in inspiration, there was a range of secular models for the buildings. Their revealed construction recalls the medieval half-timbered houses of England, especially common in Kent, Essex and Surrey. The potential for such buildings to serve as models in New Zealand had been recognised as early as 1843 when Cotton wrote to his sister Phoebe in England asking her to make drawings of cottages at Rooksnest in Surrey, 'the seat of his father's associate, Charles Turner'. In Cotton's view it was very likely that 'we may be able to build in the same style which shows the timber, in all manner of odd shapes between the plaister panels'.[104]

Another source for Thatcher's hospital designs was detected by Cotton when he observed of St. John's College Hospital, as he might also have observed of the Auckland and New Plymouth Colonial Hospitals: 'The gables project well over the lower rooms in the manner of a Swiss chalet'.[105] The Swiss chalet was one of the more

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[103]By 6 January 1851, the buildings were reported to have assumed 'a very bleached appearance' and to be 'considerably blemished with dark coloured weather stains'. [British] Parliamentary Papers, 1850 (1280) vol. XXXVII, p. 115, reprinted in *Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence and Papers relating to Native Inhabitants, The New Zealand Company and other Affairs of the Colony 1847-50, Colonies: New Zealand 6*, Shannon, Ireland, 1969. By 1851 they were 'thoroughly painted over'. Grey specified, presumably on either Thatcher's or Wood's recommendation, that the 'last three coats should be imitation oak, or some dark wood'. See IA, 1, 50/493.

[104]As quoted in John Stacpoole, *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1976, p. 31.

[105]Rev. William Charles Cotton, *Journal 1841-1848*, XI, vi, Dixson Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney as quoted in Mane-Wheoki, 'Selwyn Gothic: The Formative Years', p. 79.

exotic options promoted by Robinson,[106] Papworth and others for picturesque houses with which Thatcher would have been familiar. Robinson, for whom he may have worked, had reproduced a design for a Swiss chalet in his *Designs for Ornamental Architecture* (1827) and Thatcher would have known the 'Swiss Cottage' Robinson built in the grounds of the Colosseum, Regent Street, c. 1828.[107]

He would also have been aware of medieval hospitals and sixteenth and seventeenth century almshouses which, although not 'specifically for the cure of the body',[108] provided accommodation or hospitality for travellers and the indigent poor. Some were half-timbered - William Ford's almshouses, Coventry, founded c. 1509[109] and Aubrey's almshouses, Ross-on-Wye, 1630, for example[110] - and they were often the preserve of the laity rather than the church. In addition, Thatcher could have drawn inspiration from the Maison Dieu which provided accommodation or hospitality to pilgrims and other travellers in the monastic (Christian) tradition. Some, such as the Maison Dieu at Ospringe,[111] were half-timbered.

Whatever the specific European models, the Auckland and New Plymouth Colonial Hospital buildings were unprecedented in the evolution of government architecture in New Zealand. No governmental

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[106]Mane-Wheoki has previously pointed out that the Swiss influence in Thatcher's work 'may be traced back to Robinson'. See *ibid.*, p. 79.

[107]See, for example, P. F. Robinson, *Designs for Farm Buildings*, London, 1830, Design no. V, 'The Swiss Barn and Cattle Sheds'; Design , no. VIII, 'The Swiss Cowhouse' & Design, no. XVII, 'The Swiss Mill and Bridge'.

[108]Elizabeth Prescott, *The English Medieval Hospital, c. 1050-1640*, London, 1992, p. 1.

[109]*Ibid.*, p. 57. Ford's almshouses are illustrated in *ibid.*, plate 29 (p. 58) & plate 30 (p. 59).

[110]Illustrated in *ibid.*, plate 54, p. 93.

[111]English Heritage, *Guide to English Heritage Properties* [London], 1991, p. 88.

buildings with revealed construction had previously been erected in the colony. Although it is possible (though most unlikely) that Government House, Auckland, had the visible upright posts of the typical Manning cottage, it was a mainly utilitarian prefabricated building and is unlikely to have attracted the interest of an architect of Thatcher's calibre.

Rather, Thatcher's Colonial Hospitals are a unique architectural response to colonial New Zealand conditions. When the Ecclesiologists themselves turned their attention to the design of hospitals, the results were very different from Thatcher's. The model design by George Edmund Street (1824-81) for a village hospital published in the second series of the Ecclesiologist's influential *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*[112] is for a mainly two-storeyed stone building with a mixture of half-hipped and gabled roofs. Thatcher's designs contrast with Street's in both the range of forms used and the material of construction. Ultimately both architects arrived at solutions appropriate to the environments in which they worked. Street drew on the vernacular building traditions of the English village for which his hospitals were intended; Thatcher used the most common local building material of his adopted home - timber - in a way which both drew on British architectural tradition and contributed to a new and evolving tradition of European timber construction in colonial New Zealand.

Yet as the evolution of Thatcher's designs for churches show, his use of revealed timber construction was relatively short-lived. The Colonial Hospitals were the only government works he built with

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[112]See The Ecclesiological late Cambridge Camden Society (ed.), *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*, Second Series, London, 1856, plates LXIII & LXIV.

exposed timber frames. In Christchurch, the architect Benjamin Mountfort further experimented with exposed frame construction in some secular works; notably, wards four and five (both 1872-6) and the administration block (1875) of the Christchurch Public Hospital (all with corrugated iron cladding)[113] and in the corridors (1858-61) of the Canterbury Provincial Buildings (with vertical board and batten cladding). However, a tradition of exposed frame construction of government buildings never developed in New Zealand. The cost of using dressed timber and the propensity of exposed frames to rot in areas with high rainfall made its use impractical. Only in the colony of Queensland where Richard Suter (1827-94) introduced the use of exposed frame construction in 1865, influenced by Thatcher's work,[114] did a tradition of exposed frame construction become established in the design of government buildings.

The influence of Thatcher's designs on the hospitals constructed in the Southern Division was therefore limited. As early as 1846 a plan and specification for the New Plymouth Colonial

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[113]On the Christchurch Public Hospital see Ruth M. Helms, 'Christchurch Hospital 1861-1876: An Architectural History', *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, vol. 11, 1990, pp. 3-18.

[114]The first known example of its use in Queensland is the Nanangro School (1865) attributed to Suter, see Donald Watson, 'Outside Studding: "Some Claims to Architectural Taste"', *Historic Environment* VI, 2, 3, 1988, pp. 29-30. The first school attributed to Suter with exposed studding is Oxley Creek, 1866. See Watson, p. 30. As Watson points out, Suter had various connections with New Zealand through which he could have known Thatcher's work, viz: Richard Suter's 'brother, A. B. Suter, later Bishop of Nelson, New Zealand, was ordained a Deacon of the Church of England in 1855, whilst Bishop G. A. Selwyn was visiting Britain. Through these circumstances - also probably through *The Ecclesiologist* journal and Sampson Kempthorne, (who emigrated to New Zealand in 1841-42 and with whom the Suters maintained contact) R. G. Suter was undoubtedly aware of the buildings in New Zealand in the so-called Selwyn style. Suter's work in Queensland is almost certainly related'. Watson, p. 29. Kempthorne had worked in Richard Suter's office in London. For a further account of exposed frame construction in Australia and New Zealand see Miles Lewis, 'The Tasman Connection: Regionalism, Colonialism and Nationalism', *Regional Responses: Papers and Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians of Australia and New Zealand, Christchurch, New Zealand 6-8 July 1991* (Ian Lochhead, ed.), Christchurch, 1995, pp. 21-6.

Hospital was sent by the Superintendent of the Southern Division to the Police Magistrates in New Plymouth[115] (presumably to enable contractors to tender for construction of the hospital), and possibly also to Nelson.[116] Although the designs had the potential to disseminate knowledge of ecclesiologically-inspired exposed frame construction in a secular context, they had little immediate influence. Of greater concern to the medical superintendents who worked in the hospitals was the poor ventilation of the wards and the lack of facilities for proper treatment of patients.

According to Dr Peter Wilson, the second Medical Superintendent of the New Plymouth Colonial Hospital, the interior of the New Plymouth building 'was an architectural blunder'.[117] Although there was a fireplace and two windows in each ward, in his view, 'as the latter are only in one end of each, the means of ventilation are imperfect, and might not now be conveniently remedied'.[118] Dr Davies, Superintendent of the Auckland Colonial Hospital, was no more impressed by his building. As he explained

> At a very inconvenient distance from the house is a double water-closet and dead-house, we have no bath-house either for hot, cold or vapour baths and the only means we have of making

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[115]NM, 8, 46/574, 21 November 1846.

[116]See NM, 9, register entry 46/574 viz: 'Letters for Police Magistrates, Nelson and New Plymouth re. Hospital at Taranaki'.

[117]P. Wilson, Letter Book, '1858 Census Report, Inquiries Respecting Hospitals and Replies Thereto', Grey Coll GNZ ms 119, Auckland Public Library. Wilson also comments that the design 'is unadapted and *outre* to our fine mild climate, being capped by that steep cumbrous form of a roof - the cold region invention, of imperious necessity, and which manifestly is only consistent where great snowfalls annually or occasionally occur'. The first Medical Superintendent Dr MacShane had been reluctant to criticise the building because of the great expense which had been incurred in its erection but also had serious concerns about its suitability as a hospital. For MacShane's views see IA, 1, 49/847, a copy of which is held in the 'Gables' Vertical File, New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington.

[118]See Peter Wilson, 'First Annual Report of the Colonial Hospital of New Plymouth', *New Zealand Government Gazette: Province of New Ulster*, 30 April 1850, p. 50.

> use of the warm bath to promote cleanliness and assist in removing disease is by employing a bathing tub of inconvenient size, in the wards of the hospital, the patients having to undress before others in the same ward.[119]

It was because of these defects that those bureaucrats, architects and engineers in the Southern Division who knew Thatcher's designs quickly dismissed them as architectural models for their own hospitals. Though the architect of the southern hospitals, Thomas Fitzgerald, responded in his later work to the architectural imagery introduced by Thatcher, his initial concern was to ensure that all the facilities thought appropriate for the modern Victorian hospital were provided in the southern buildings.

His first Colonial Hospital was built in Wellington, the administrative capital of the Southern Division. Construction began in October 1846 and the building opened on 15 September 1847,[120] a few months before the Auckland Colonial Hospital. However, there is no evidence that Fitzgerald was influenced by, or had even seen, Thatcher's work. In contrast to Thatcher's hospitals, the Wellington building was situated in the town centre (in Pipitea Street), its siting reflecting the contention of some of the medical profession that hospitals should be located amidst the populations they served, rather than in the healthy but distant country.

Architecturally, too, Fitzgerald's cement-rendered brick
17. hospital had none of the ecclesiastical associations of Thatcher's hospitals. Rather, it was a simple, two-storeyed block with gabled roofs, a central bay window on the front elevation and symmetrically arranged sash windows. Despite the use of permanent materials, the

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[119]Wilton & Patrick Henley, 'The First Hospital', *The Story of Auckland Hospital 1847-1977* (David Scott, ed.) [Auckland], 1977, p. 9.

[120]D. MacDonald Wilson, *A Hundred Years of Healing: Wellington Hospital 1847-1947*, Wellington, 1948, p. 17.

elevations did not differ significantly from those of the simple utilitarian timber government and commercial buildings erected in New Zealand in the early 1840s.

Although it was of less architectural interest than Thatcher's hospitals, the Wellington Colonial Hospital contained all the facilities which early Victorian doctors required of such buildings. It had a steam bathroom, shower and 'a room for patients to sweat in after being in the steam room'. A small ward capable of accommodating two patients was used for patients in a critical condition or with infectious diseases. Some provision may have been made for cross ventilation, though this is not revealed in the one illustration of the interior of the building which survives.[121]

The provision of more advanced facilities at Wellington than at Auckland and New Plymouth and the siting of the hospital in the town centre rather than in the countryside can readily be explained by the influence of Dr John Patrick Fitzgerald (1815-1897), Thomas Henry Fitzgerald's brother.[122] A 'medical practitioner with advanced techniques',[123] John Patrick advocated improved ventilation of hospitals, use of vapour baths, wrapping fever patients in layers of wet blankets and anaesthesia.[124] He had preceded Thomas to the colony by several years, arriving in the New Zealand Company

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[121]It does, however, show a room of lofty proportions, though these may be exaggerated. The drawing first appeared in *The New Zealand Journal*, the unofficial organ of the New Zealand Company which was naturally keen to promote a positive image of the colony and its buildings. A photograph of the drawing is held by A.T.L.

[122]See NM, 8, 48/302, Fitzgerald to Colonial Secretary, 29 March 1848 and memo on back of *ibid.* When Dr Fitzgerald requested that a fence be built around the colonial hospital he was instructed to 'ask his brother to send in a sketch shewing the ground upon which the hospital stands'.

[123]Laurie Barber, 'Fitzgerald, John Patrick, 1815-1897', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One: 1769-1869*, (W. H. Oliver, gen. ed.), Wellington, 1990, p. 128.

[124]*Ibid.*

settlement at Petone in 1840 as 'surgeon superintendent on board the New Zealand Company's vessel *Oriental*'.[125] Dr Fitzgerald subsequently held various professional appointments in Wellington, notably Superintendent of the Wellington Colonial Hospital from 15 September 1847 (when the hospital first opened) to 31 July 1854.[126]

His influence is also evident in Thomas Fitzgerald's design for the Wanganui Colonial Hospital building, though in some respects the Wanganui building also represents a substantial rethinking of the design of hospital and other government buildings. Fitzgerald had been requested to prepare plans for the hospital on 24 April 1848[127] on the understanding that it would be 'a permanent building' embracing 'the greatest possible accommodation at the least expense'.[128] He envisaged construction of a brick building covered with Roman Cement[129] similar to the Wellington hospital.

In October 1848, shortly after Fitzgerald prepared his plans, Wellington was subjected to an earthquake which forced a reassessment of governmental building practice. Described as 'the most severe shock of an earthquake ever experienced by the white residents, or remembered by the Maoris [sic]',[130] it destroyed most of the town. A government survey of the damage provided indisputable evidence that timber framed and clad buildings would withstand tremors better than

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[125] *Ibid.*

[126] *Ibid.*, pp. 128-9.

[127] See NM, 8, 48/668, Eyre to Domett, 17 June 1848.

[128] *Ibid.*

[129] *Ibid.*, 'Schedule of Accepted Tenders for Wanganui Hospital'. Note also that a plan, said to be by Collinson, but more probably by Fitzgerald, was submitted to the New Munster Legislative Council's meeting of 21 July 1848. The council approved the plan so long as it could be constructed for the specified sum. See PRO, CO 211/2, f. 220.

[130] *Wellington Independent*, 18 October 1848 as quoted in Louis E. Ward, *Early Wellington*, Wellington, 1928 (Christchurch, 1975 reprint), p. 145.

structures built in any other material then in use.[131] Construction of traditional load bearing brick walls was considered unsafe, a view supported by preliminary examination of the Wellington Colonial Hospital which officials considered pulling down.[132] Brick nogging between the studs of timber-framed buildings was, however, recommended to reduce fire risk.[133]

Timber was adjudged the most suitable building material for government buildings. In Collinson's view

> although a Brick building may be built here [Wellington], capable of withstanding any shock that has hitherto been felt, yet the Government Buildings should be made capable of visiting any shocks more severe than those that might happen, and that would render their construction more expensive than the Colonial Government would probably be willing to incur.[134]

18. Accordingly Collinson recommended construction of the Wanganui

19. Colonial Hospital in timber[135] and, on 15 December, Eyre approved a

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[131]See [British] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1849 (1063), vol. XXXV, especially pp. 7 & 8, reprinted in *Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence and Papers relating to Native Inhabitants, The New Zealand Company and other Affairs of the Colony 1847-50, Colonies: New Zealand 6*, Shannon, Ireland, 1969. Wm Miles, Serjeant in charge of the armed Police, Wellington, reported (*ibid.*, p. 8) that despite extensive damage 'All the wooden houses have escaped without any damage whatever; not even the glass injured. The whole of the chimneys are down, or seriously cracked'.

[132]The damage was less than first supposed. See NM, 8, 48/1128. In 1850 construction of a new building was planned. See *New Zealand Spectator and Cook Strait Guardian*, 13 November 1850, p. 2. The original building was, however, repaired and served as Wellington's hospital until 1855.

[133]It was also intended that the exterior be covered with 'strong laths and plaster' and the interior with 'boards or plaster'. See [British] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1849 (1120), vol. XXV, p. 63, reprinted in *Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence and Papers relating to Native Inhabitants, The New Zealand Company and other Affairs of the Colony 1847-50, Colonies: New Zealand 6*, Shannon, Ireland, 1969.

[134]NM, 8, 50/793, Collinson to Colonial Secretary, New Munster, 28 October 1848.

[135]See NM, 9, register entry 48/1146. Eyre likewise advised the Colonial Secretary that the proposed Nelson gaol should not be built in brick if the earthquake had caused any damage at that settlement. See NM, 9, register entry 48/1142.

design for a one-storey timber building prepared by Fitzgerald.[136] Collinson specified that it was to be constructed of 'a strong wood framing of double timber',[137] an implicit criticism of the exposed frame of Thatcher's Colonial Hospitals and a further response to the experience of the 1848 earthquake. By 30 September 1849 construction of the building 'in St George's Gate', Wanganui,[138] was under way. It was completed by 29 August 1850,[139] though was not in use until 1851.[140]

The building contained roughly the same facilities as the New Plymouth Colonial Hospital. There were two main wards capable of holding twelve patients and an occasional ward for two or three patients.[141] Envisaging future expansion, Fitzgerald calculated that by 'throwing out wings in the front of the building' 28 additional patients could be accommodated. According to Fitzgerald, when these

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[136]NM, 8, 50/793, minute dated 15 December 1848, on Collinson to Colonial Secretary, 14 December 1848.

[137]NM, 8, 50/793, Collinson to Colonial Secretary, 28 October 1848.

[138]On the location of the building see R. E. Wright-St Clair, *Caring for the People: A History of the Wanganui Hospital Board*, Wanganui, 1987, p. 9. According to a 'Report of 30 September 1849' (NM, 8, 49/1022) contained with NM, 8, 50/793, by the end of September the site had been prepared, foundation trenches excavated, contracts entered into for materials (except steam fitments and labour), glaziers work was in progress and a contract had been arranged in Wellington for the window frames which were about three-quarters complete.

[139]NM, 8, 50/793, C. T. Hutchinson, Lieut. R. E. to Col. Secretary, 29 August 1850, minuted by Eyre. Reporting on the completion of the building, Hutchinson also raised questions about undertaking various drainage works, subsequently approved by Eyre.

[140]Dr G. W. Rees reported on 10 June 1851 that 'the first patient was taken into Hospital on 22 April'. See NM, 8, 51/799, Rees to Colonial Secretary, 10 June 1851. On 18 February 1851 Rees reported that the arrival of the drugs for the building had enabled him to open the institution for the relief of outpatients and he was now attending more regularly. See NM, 8, 51/246, Rees to Colonial Secretary, 18 February 1851.

[141]The size of the main wards had been set as 17 feet [5.18 m] wide by Lieutenant Governor Eyre, 4ft 6 inches [153.619 mm] lineal being allowed per man in the estimate of the accommodation. See NM, 8, 50/793, 'Report and Estimate of Material and Labour Required in the Erection of a Hospital and Outbuildings at Wanganui for the Colonial Government by the Royal Engineer Department Amounting to £944.12.0', Royal Engineers Office, Wellington, 14 December 1848 (NM, 8, 49/865).

additions were completed the 'occasional ward' could be divided into a sweating and bath room and the existing bathroom used as a steam and shower bath 'if one should be determined upon'.[142] A kitchen could also to be added to the rear of the building. Viewed as a whole, Fitzgerald's proposal reveals a desire to preserve the symmetry of his building, an aesthetic foreign to Thatcher's picturesque approach.[143]

It is thus scarcely surprising that the elevations of Fitzgerald's building, though influenced by those of Thatcher's Colonial Hospitals, are different in kind. The three steeply-pitched gables of the front elevation evoke Thatcher's buildings but the detailing is very different. Fitzgerald did not share Thatcher's concern for the 'honest' use of materials. Rather, the rusticated window and door surrounds of his design imitate the forms associated with brick and cement that he first envisaged for the hospital before the 1848 earthquake.

Architecturally less distinguished but functionally more satisfactory than Thatcher's hospitals, the Wanganui building marks the conclusion of Grey's hospital building programme. Considered as a group, the colonial hospitals do not provide any evidence of the emergence of a unified approach towards government architecture. The way in which the hospital building programme developed does, however, point to some trends. First, British settlers were beginning to realise that they would have to be satisfied with timber structures for the foreseeable future, not only because of the cost of building

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[142] NM, 8, 50/793.

[143] In the event, additions were made to the hospital but not as Fitzgerald proposed. For a photograph of the additions, made in 1875, see Wright St-Clair, p. 9.

in permanent materials but also because timber buildings had distinct advantages over masonry ones in an earthquake-prone country. Secondly, from the mid 1840s there was greater scope for architectural expression than at the beginning of the decade when only the most rudimentary makeshift timber structures could be built.[144] Finally, civil servants (assuming colonial surgeons were representative of their fellow government employees) were becoming increasingly vocal in their criticism of the buildings they occupied. Consequently pressure was mounting on architects and builders to construct buildings which met the specialised requirements of the civil service and ultimately to consider government architecture as a distinct form of architectural practice.

Although Grey did not commission any further hospitals in New Zealand, two additional projects for government hospital buildings were prepared in the 1850s; one for construction in Lyttelton, the other in Dunedin. Their preparation was an almost inevitable corollary to Grey's 1846 hospital building programme once the Otago and Canterbury Associations established settlements in the South Island in 1848 and 1850 respectively. Although the Lyttelton Hospital was not built, and the Dunedin Hospital is of limited architectural interest, the designs for these buildings further document the state of early government architecture in New Zealand.

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[144]It is further symptomatic of the growing emphasis on architectural expression that the roles of architect and clerk of works were differentiated - Thatcher designing Auckland's Colonial Hospital while Wood superintended its construction, for example. Wood's appointment as both Government Architect and Superintendent of Public Works is further evidence of the acknowledgement of the separate processes of designing government buildings and the more technical and managerial one of supervising construction.

On 22 April 1851 John Robert Godley, the Canterbury Association's Resident Chief Agent, feeling 'compelled to call the attention of the government to the subject of a hospital'[145] at Lyttelton, presented the Colonial Secretary with a plan and report on the building he intended to erect and implored him to provide funds for its construction. Like Grey's Colonial Hospitals, Godley's was intended to provide medical facilities for both European and Maori. His immediate interest in the construction of the hospital was, however, sparked by the imminent arrival of more European settlers. 'At any moment', Godley wrote, 'a necessity might arise (from the arrival of some relief with contagious disease on board), for setting apart some place for the reception of infected patients.'[146] Despite his efforts, Godley was compelled to make do with an extant building;[147] a purpose-built hospital was not erected until 1861-2.[148]

A design created by Cridland for the building Godley intended to erect in the 1850s survives, however. The hospital was to provide similar facilities to its North Island counterparts; accommodation for 14 patients in two principal wards and two further patients in a

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[145]NM, 8, 51/821, Godley to Colonial Secretary, 22 April 1851.

[146]*Ibid.*

[147]Godley's request sparked concern about the extent of the Government's responsibility for provision of buildings in Canterbury. See NM, 8, 51/821, Godley to Colonial Secretary, 22 April 1851, p. 1. At question was whether the Government should erect buildings on land owned by the Canterbury Association to which it had no title. See NM, 8, 51/821, minute, Eyre to Domett. After lengthy discussion it was agreed that funds would be made available for the construction of a temporary hospital in Lyttelton on the understanding that a permanent building would be built in Christchurch at a later date, and that Godley would convey some land in fee simple for construction of the building in Lyttelton. The project stalled, however.

[148]A hospital was first provided at Lyttelton in a rented home and later in the 'old customs house building'. See F. O. Bennett, *Hospital on the Avon: The History of the Christchurch Hospital 1862-1962*, Christchurch, 1962, p. 12. See also P. Clennell Fenwick, *The Christchurch Hospital: Historical and Descriptive Sketch*, Christchurch, 1926, p. 5.

subsidiary ward. Cridland proposed that the hospital should be erected 'in half timber work on a solid foundation the panels.. [being] filled in with moulded cob comp'd with Roman cement externally and plastered two coats on the inside.'[149] The joints between the cob and the timber frame were to be 'covered with fillets 7" [177.8 mm] wide chamfered on the edges'.[150] According to Cridland, this method of construction was the cheapest that could then be employed in the Canterbury settlement, a point of view confirmed by Benjamin Mountfort's decision to use half-timbering to construct Holy Trinity, Lyttelton,[151] (partially built 1852-3, dismantled 1857), though with brick nogging rather than cob infill.[152] Although the roof pitch of Cridland's proposed hospital is not as steep as that of Thatcher's Auckland and New Plymouth Colonial Hospitals, his half-timbered design has an obvious visual affinity with Thatcher's works.

The connections between the Dunedin hospital design and Grey's Colonial Hospitals are more tenuous. In 1851 an architectural competition was organised by Dunedin Magistrates for the Dunedin
21. Hospital, the entry submitted by Dunedin-based builders Messrs. Clark

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[149]NM, 8, 51/821, 'Report and Estimate for the Erection of a Temporary Hospital for the Colonial Government at Lyttelton', 25 April 1851. (NM, 8, 51/551.)

[150]*Ibid.*

[151]Mountfort had prepared sketch plans for Holy Trinity, Lyttelton by 18 September, five months after Cridland had prepared his designs for the Lyttelton Hospital. See Ian J. Lochhead, 'Canterbury's First Church: The Rise and Fall of Holy Trinity, Lyttelton', *Timber & Tin: Proceedings of the First Icomos New Zealand Conference on the Conservation of Vernacular Structures Russell, Bay of Islands 1-4 June 1990* (David Reynolds, ed.), Auckland, 1992, p. 6.

[152]On the design, construction and dismantling of this church see *ibid.*, pp. 5-19.

and Garvie[153] being 'approved of as being in every way suited to the requirements of the settlement'.[154] According to the specifications, the timber frame was to be 'brick-nogged' and weatherboarded,[155] the weatherboarding covering the structural frame and brick nogging, a method of construction which in many ways conformed to the recommendations of the government officers who surveyed the damage caused by the 1848 Wellington earthquake. The steeply-pitched entrance gable and the plan of the building recall both Thatcher's hospitals and Fitzgerald's Wanganui building. Unfortunately, however, Clark and Garvie lacked even the limited architectural literacy of a designer such as Fitzgerald, using instead the standard repertoire of forms traditionally employed by carpenters - finials and shaped bargeboards - to decorate an otherwise utilitarian structure.

From an architectural point of view, the Dunedin Hospital was a disappointing end to the first wave of hospital building in New Zealand but Grey's colonial hospital building programme had a renewed lease of life in the Cape Colony. As Governor and High Commissioner of South Africa (1853-60), Grey established hospitals in King Williamstown (to which he appointed Dr John Patrick Fitzgerald)[156] and in Capetown. New Zealanders were made aware of both hospitals in a biography of Grey published in 1892 which purported to illustrate

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[153]Clark and Garvie are credited with building 'the Forbury' (1851), reputed to be the first stone house built in Dunedin. See Hardwick Knight & Niel Wales, *Buildings of Dunedin: An Illustrated Architectural Guide to New Zealand's Victorian City*, Dunedin, 1988, pp. 92-3. Also on Henry Clark & Alexander Garvie see *ibid.*, pp. 25, 26 & 191.

[154]NM, 8, 51/606.

[155]See *ibid.*, 'Specification for Dunedin Hospital'.

[156]See William Lee Rees & Lily Rees, *The Life and Times of Sir George Grey, K. C. B.*, Auckland, 1892 (1898 memorial edition), p. 194.

the buildings in which the hospitals were housed.[157] Though the buildings were very different from New Zealand's, they represent a further expression of Grey's commitment to the hospital building programme he initiated in the colony.

Evolution in the design of government buildings in the period 1846 to 1853 can, of course, be documented in other building types. At the same time as surgeons were pointing out some of the inadequacies of the Colonial Hospitals, other civil servants were criticising designs for buildings which did not measure up to their expectations. As a result, architects in New Zealand were forced to confront a range of design problems, unique to government architecture, with which they had little understanding.

Reader Wood's attempts in 1848 to produce a design for a police
22. office illustrates the point. Dissatisfied with a design Wood created without prior consultation, the Inspector of the Armed Police decided to present his own 'ideas on the distribution of a building intended for Police purposes, at the same time disclaiming any interference with the tasteful design for the elevation furnished by the Architect'.[158] While Wood had incorporated a lock-up in his

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[157]A perspective of William Mason's Dunedin Exhibition Building (1865) was mistakenly reproduced as Grey's 'Somerset Hospital, Cape Town. Founded by Sir George Grey, K.C.B., 18th August, 1859'. Although the incorrect attribution of the building was no more than a publisher's error, it was Mason's perspective, rather than the 'castellated and grim' elevation of Somerset Hospital (and the modest timber hospital buildings of colonial New Zealand), that best presented Grey as a highly successful and benevolent statesman. The error in Rees' biography is also noted in Gregory Douglas Bowron, 'New Zealand International Exhibitions of the 19th Century', M. Arch. Thesis, University of Auckland, 1994, pp. 92-3, though different conclusions are drawn about its significance.

For an illustration of the Somerset Hospital see Désirée Picton-Seymour, *Victorian Building in South Africa Including Edwardian and Transvaal Republican Styles 1850-1910*, Cape Town, 1977, p. 78.

[158]IA, 1, 48/884.

design for the building, the Inspector thought it should be separated from the central structure and divided into four cells, two for male and female offenders confined for drunkenness or petty misdemeanours, and two for those charged with serious offences. The entire lock-up should, according to the Inspector, be built of scoria or brick, not timber as proposed by Wood.[159] In the Inspector's view, the guardroom would have to be much reduced in size because 'of the impossibility in winter of obtaining sufficient heat from the quantity of fuel allowed to a Guard'.[160]

After considering the Inspector's representations, the Colonial Secretary instructed Wood to revise his design.[161] Based on a plan
23. prepared by Sub-Inspector White, Wood's revised design (though functionally more satisfactory) invites comparison with the hipped-roof buildings designed and erected by Superintendents of Public Works in the early 1840s. Although the Inspector had not wished to interfere with Wood's 'tasteful design' for the elevation, the substantial changes to the floor plan he recommended necessarily resulted in equally significant alterations to the elevations. In his original proposal Wood included some Gothic detailing in the verandah balustrade and brackets. His revised elevations, submitted to the Colonial Secretary on 26 April 1848,[162] lacked even that minimal ornamentation. They reveal that Wood saw Gothic as a decorative style which could be applied to a building when finance permitted, a view which contrasts sharply with the Puginian concept

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[159] *Ibid.*

[160] *Ibid.*

[161] *Ibid.* Wood was instructed, however, that the water-closet should be a separate building. See memo dated 22 March 1848 on back of *ibid.*

[162] See IA, 1, 48/884, Wood to Colonial Secretary, 26 April 1848.

of ornament as an integral part of the structure of a building (a concept exemplified by Thatcher's work).

An increasing concern to design buildings which adequately met the requirements of government institutions is also evident in the
24. Southern Division. Fitzgerald's 1846 project for a radial prison to be built in Nelson illustrates this trend in the south. Fitzgerald recommended a piecemeal approach towards construction, a practice which was to characterise colonial New Zealand architecture.[163] Realising that the immediate erection of a building which fulfilled the expectations of prison authorities was beyond the ability of the colony to finance, he intended that the building be erected in two stages. A portion of his design 'capable of containing 12 or 14 prisoners' was to be built first and the rest of the prison at a later date. The first portion was to accommodate prisoners 'according to the usual method practised in New Zealand'[164] in which male inmates were separated from female and felons from debtors.

This crude system of classification was in Fitzgerald's completed radial prison to be replaced by a 'system of separate confinement' implemented, he said, 'in strict conformity with the arrangements recommended by the Inspectors of British Prisons'.[165] The Inspectors, first appointed in 1836, had consistently recommended the provision of individual cells for prisoners. In their view, separate confinement was necessary to prevent hardened criminals

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[163]On the comments of the Canterbury Provincial Superintendent, journalist and architectural critic, James Edward FitzGerald (1818-96), on the need for New Zealand architects to keep mind the necessity to make additions to buildings see Ian J. Lochhead, 'Mrs Grundy and the Gothic: James Edward FitzGerald and Architectural Criticism in Colonial Canterbury', *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, 14, 1993, p. 82.

[164]See IA, 1, 46/1186.

[165]*Ibid.*

influencing others and as an aid to the personal reflection and contrition necessary for reformation.[166] Although the civil establishment in colonial New Zealand had not previously been able to find the funds to build gaols on the separate cell principle, prison authorities in New Zealand were well aware of the Inspectors' recommendations and increasingly defensive about their inability to implement them.

All the available evidence suggests that Fitzgerald had in mind Joshua Jebb's[167] first design for a prison 'on a new principle of construction'[168] published in the *Third Report of the Inspectors of Prisons*.[169] Like many of the exercise yards of Jebb's design, the airing yards of Fitzgerald's are defined by walls, intended to keep prisoners apart, which radiate in a fan-shape. In Jebb's later, larger and more influential model prison, Pentonville (1840-42), the walls of the exercise yards radiate to define the full circumference of a circle. Fitzgerald may have been aware of prisons already built at 'home' (Ireland) to the Inspectors' recommendations, buildings such as Smithfield Prison (rebuilt by 1845 to a plan by Jebb) and the

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[166]The origins of the belief in the reforming value of solitude as an aid to personal reflection and contrition can be traced back to the religious beliefs of the Pennsylvania Quakers. Their ideas about prison design were embodied in the Eastern Penitentiary Pennsylvania (opened 1829), a building which much impressed the British Prison Inspectors. See Norman Johnston, *The Human Cage: A Brief History of Prison Architecture*, New York, 1973, p. 29 and for another account of the evolution and theory of prison design, Michael Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Alan Sheridan, translator), New York, 1979.

[167]Jebb was a military engineer appointed to the post of Surveyor General of Prisons in November 1837.

[168]Robin Evans, *The Fabrication of Virtue: English Prison Architecture 1750-1840*, Cambridge, 1982, p. 329.

[169][British] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1838, vol. XXX, p. 120. In addition to their other duties, the English Prison Inspectors commented on designs from remote colonies and supplied designs for some colonial prisons. See Margaret Heather Tomlinson, 'Victorian Prisons: Administration and Architecture, 1835-1877', Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1975, p. 236, 244 & 257-8. There is no evidence of the direct involvement of the British authorities in the design of Fitzgerald's prison.

convict depot, Mountjoy, Dublin (completed in 1850).[170] The printed plan in the Inspectors' report would, however, have provided him with all the details he required to design a building 'in strict conformity' with British recommendations.

Despite Fitzgerald's foresight in devising a scheme for two-stage construction of a prison acceptable to the British authorities, his plans languished in departmental offices. No radial prisons were built under Grey's governorship, though the principle of separate confinement was introduced. In 1848 a new wing of the Wellington Prison was built with separate cells for individual confinement. A two-storeyed structure, 40 feet [12.2 m] wide and 33 feet 6 inches [10.166 m] long, it had a central hall flanked by cells with a staircase at one end. The staircase provided access to galleries[171] which in turn provided access to the first floor cells, an arrangement used at Pentonville and many prisons modelled on it.

As well as further recognising the specialist requirements of various governmental institutions and of the government buildings which housed them, advances were also made in the standardisation of the design of government buildings under Grey. Thatcher had prefigured the construction of buildings to standard designs by using a similar repertoire of forms for the Auckland and New Plymouth Colonial Hospitals. In the southern province of New Munster, Fitzgerald, acting on the instructions of New Munster's Legislative Council, took the further step of preparing a design for construction

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[170]See Ciaran O'Connor & John O'Regan (eds.), *Public Works: The Architecture of the Office of Public Works 1831-1987*, Dublin, 1987, p. 16.

[171]Se IA, 1, 48/839, 'Return of the Public Works, Civil Roads, Bridges and Buildings and c. Not of a Military Nature Which Have Been Undertaken During the Year 1848'.

throughout the province, principally as a means of avoiding unnecessary duplication of effort.

Confronted in 1850 with the prospect of building court houses and police rooms and cells for Wanganui, Fitzgerald was instructed by the New Munster Legislative Council to prepare standard designs for
26. such buildings for use in 'all new settlements'.[172] He rightly anticipated that there would be some variation in the method and cost of construction. In Lyttelton, for example, buildings would cost one-third more than in Wellington, it being

> much less expensive to have the buildings framed and the materials prepared here [Wellington] and taken down to Lyttelton where they are to be put together - than to get it done there altogether as timber, Bricks and all other materials must be especially at this time very expensive down there.[173]

Despite variation in cost, the designs (which do not survive) were merely utilitarian in character; Fitzgerald had been instructed that the buildings were 'to be designed on the most economical scale both as to materials and dimensions'.[174]

Thus, despite the divided administration of government architecture in the period 1846-53, progress was made towards a unified approach. Acceptance of timber as a 'permanent' building material for government buildings had grown throughout the country. Under the twin influence of British example (notably the British Inspectors' reports on prisons) and pressure from some civil servants (especially doctors and police) designs for government buildings in both New Ulster and New Munster became better suited to the specific

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[172]NM, 8, 50/1180. See also PRO, CO 211/2, f. 411, 415.

[173]Fitzgerald's minute on back of NM, 8, 50/1180.

[174]PRO, CO 211/2, f. 411.

purposes for which they were intended. The role government architecture might play in social engineering (the implementation of policies of compulsory assimilation, for example) had also been openly acknowledged. Consequently, by 1853, the foundations for the development of government architecture in New Zealand were in place.

In spite of these developments, the emergence of a coherent architectural image of government was to be long delayed. The far-flung settlements scattered around New Zealand's coastline were soon to achieve the degree of autonomy they had long hoped for in governmental administration and therefore in the construction of government buildings. At the very moment when a more unified architectural expression of identity might have emerged, this further fragmentation of governmental administration was to result in the erection of public buildings in a diverse range of architectural styles, more expressive of the character and aspirations of the individual settlements than any collective sense of nationhood. During the period of Crown Colony Government (1840-52) it had been possible to put in place the foundations of a coherent architectural expression of government because successive Governors had control over all aspects of government administration. The architectural expression of democracy would be altogether different in kind; the way was soon to be cleared, when New Zealand ceased to be governed as a Crown Colony in 1853, for a diversity of architectural expression in governmental buildings scarcely conceivable in an autocracy.

CHAPTER THREE

Government Architecture, 1853-68: The General Government's Role[1]

During the 1850s New Zealand colonists achieved a greater say in the government of their colony. Under the Constitution Act, 1852,[2] an elected General Assembly was established and the provinces of New Munster and New Ulster were replaced with six smaller provinces (Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury and Otago),[3] each with their own elected council. Responsible or self-government was achieved in 1856. As a result of these constitutional changes the course of government architecture in New Zealand was shaped by elected representatives rather than an appointed Governor.

Provincial rather than General Government officers were the more active in the design and construction of government buildings. From 1853 it was assumed that they would provide their own accommodation. During its 1856 session, the General Assembly clarified responsibilities. It decided, as part of a larger financial strategy, that funds from land sales would be regarded as provincial revenue to be used by the provinces as they saw fit, but probably for public works. Consequently, provincial administrators and architects had the financial and constitutional independence to determine the course of governmental architecture in their own

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[1]Although the terms 'central Government' or 'the Government' are used today to refer to New Zealand's nationally-elected Government, the term General Government was more commonly used in the nineteenth century and is used throughout this thesis.

[2]Entitled 'An Act to Grant a Representative Constitution to the Colony of New Zealand', generally referred to as the Constitution Act, 1852.

[3]Further provinces were created under the New Provinces Act of 1858: Hawkes Bay and Marlborough in 1859, Southland in 1861 (reabsorbed by Otago in 1871) and Westland in 1874. On the New Provinces Act see W. P. Morrell, *The Provincial System in New Zealand, 1852-76*, Christchurch, 1964, especially pp. 107-15.

provinces. Their work did not form part of the General Government's activities.

Rather than document the Provincial Government's various building programmes, this chapter focuses on the General Government's work as architect and builder in the period 1853-68.[4] Although less active than the provincial governments, the General Government built some significant works. Under the 1852 Constitution Act, customs duties, the post office, courts of justice (except courts of summary jurisdiction), criminal law and some other governmental functions were excluded from provincial jurisdiction.[5] The General Government therefore had a special interest in provision of buildings for the departments which administered these functions - notably, the customs, post office and justice departments.[6] Although the smaller timber buildings previously erected by the Crown for these departments were built by the Provincial Governments, the General Assembly became involved with the design and construction of some of the larger works.

From 1868 it was forced to become involved in all public works. By 1867 few provinces had the financial resources to construct government buildings. Taranaki suspended all public works that year; the newly-created province of Marlborough petitioned the General Government for abolition, its funds having been seized by the Bank of New Zealand; Wellington suspended subsidies to road boards and

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[4]For a full discussion of the reasons for excluding provincial government buildings from this thesis see the Introduction, pp. 10-12.

[5]Others included coinage and currency, weights and measures, bankruptcy and insolvency. For a full list see Morrell, p. 60.

[6]Other departments originally in the General Government's control included Lands and Survey & the Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages. Responsibilities changed over time and differed from province to province. For a full account, see R. J. Polaschek, *Government Administration in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1958, pp. 15-30.

schools and was in arrears in paying staff; and despite its comparative wealth, Canterbury was considering new systems of administration to reduce costs. The new-found wealth of the Coromandel goldfields sustained the once faltering Auckland administration but it was only in the gold-rich province of Otago that 'provincial institutions could be looked upon with much satisfaction'.[7] The General Government therefore prohibited all provinces from raising loans,[8] preventing them from pursuing public works unless they could finance them from surplus revenue.

In spite of these circumstances, between 1853 when the provinces were created, and the financial crises of the late 1860s, some of the most impressive of New Zealand's nineteenth-century government buildings were built by the General Government, notably the Government House (1855-6), Supreme Court House (1865-8), Post Office and Customs House (1865-8) (all in Auckland) and the Post Office in Dunedin (1865-8).[9] Most of them were the product of lengthy debate about what should be built and by whom. The debate was shaped by a sometimes confusing mix of personal, Provincial and General Government ambitions and perceptions, as well as conflicting ideas about the appropriate architectural style for New Zealand's government buildings.

With the reduction of General Government responsibilities, the civil service was cut back. Before the disestablishment of the

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[7]Morrell, p. 210. The preceding summary of the financial state of the provinces is likewise taken from *ibid.*, pp. 209-10.

[8]A measure implemented through the Public Debt and Consolidated Loan Act 1867. See *ibid.*, pp. 188-9.

[9]Two further projects - a Colonial Museum (1865) and Government House, (1868-71), both in Wellington, are discussed in chapter four, pp. 197-205.

province of New Ulster, the former Government Architect and Superintendent of Public Works of the province, Reader Wood, secured employment as Deputy Surveyor-General in the Lands and Survey Department.[10] Once the new constitution was enacted, he was conveniently placed to design buildings required by the General Government. Despite his continuing role as an official architect, he did not hold any official appointment as a Government Architect and by 1856 he had left his post to pursue private practice and other business interests.

New arrangements for provision of architectural services were not made by the General Government until 1857. On 29 December that year a Royal Engineer, Colonel Thomas Rawlings Mould (1805-1886),[11] was appointed to the newly-created office of 'Inspector of Public Works'.[12] Under the terms of his appointment he was to 'supervise and report on major public works operations',[13] though his ability to fulfil the full range of architectural duties he was soon to undertake was limited.

Mould trained at the Royal Engineer's Establishment at Chatham (set up in 1812),[14] receiving only a very limited architectural education. Not until 1825 was a course in 'practical architecture' introduced at the Establishment. Devised by its Director, Charles W.

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[10]IA, 12, 15. Wood was appointed 1 March 1852.

[11]See J. A. B. Crawford, 'Mould, Thomas Rawlings 1805-1886, *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One: 1769-1869* (W. H. Oliver, gen. ed.), Wellington, 1990, p. 300. Mould's date of death is given as 1896 in F. W. Furkert, *Early New Zealand Engineers* (W. L. Newnham, ed.), Wellington, 1953, p. 231, though this is incorrect. See Mould's death certificate, St. Catherine's House, London.

[12]*New Zealand Government Gazette*, 31 December 1857, p. 208.

[13]See OP, 5/1, 1858, minute of letter 2 dated 12 January (1858).

[14]See R. A. Buchanan, *The Engineers: A History of the Engineering Profession in Britain 1750-1914*, London, 1989, p. 36.

Pasley, its contents were recorded in his *Outline of a Course of Practical Architecture.*[15] Pasley acknowledged in this text that the 'most difficult branches of Practical Architecture' had been covered by Peter Nicholson, Thomas Tredgold and others.[16] However, he thought that some important aspects had been 'scarcely noticed' probably because they were 'generally known to persons regularly brought up to the Profession of Architecture' or to the mechanical trades connected with it.[17] Pasley's course aimed to 'fill up those deficiencies'[18] though 'without pretending to lay down those rules, for proportioning the various parts of an Edifice, and for designing the decorations, which form the study of the professed Architect'.[19]

Even supposing that Mould read Pasley's *Outline*, his knowledge of contemporary architectural practice and theory would have been no more than cursory.[20] As a military engineer he had considerable experience building barracks - he provided estimates for the construction of St. Ann's Garrison, Barbados, in January 1838

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[15]The full title is *Outline of a Course of Practical Architecture, compiled for the use of the Junior Officers of Royal Engineers by C. W. Pasley, Lieut Colonel in the Corps, F. R. S. and Honorary Member of the Institution of Civil Engineers.* Lithographed at the Establishment for Field Instruction, Royal Engineer Department, Chatham, 1826. For an extract (pp. 1-112) of this lithographed manuscript see PRO, WO 44/732. On Pasley's text see also Sten Nilsson, *European Architecture in India 1750-1850*, New York, 1969, pp. 156-7.

[16]See *Outline of a Course of Practical Architecture*, p. ii.

[17]*Ibid.*

[18]*Ibid.*

[19]*Ibid.*, p. 1.

[20]For an alternative view see John Stacpoole, *William Mason: The First New Zealand Architect*, Auckland, 1971, pp. 127-8, viz: 'It is not generally appreciated that the Royal Engineers maintained a school in which the principles of architecture were taught and that men like Mould could therefore claim a sound training'.

(completed February 1842),[21] for example - but little or no experience as an architect.

By the time he arrived in New Zealand in late December 1855[22] Mould had risen to the rank of lieutenant colonel (he was commissioned in January that year).[23] As well as designing military buildings in New Zealand,[24] he reported on a boundary dispute between the provinces of Otago and Canterbury, adjudicated in 1859 on designs for a bridge over the Waimakariri River at Kaiapoi and also in 1859 reported on a proposal to construct a canal between the Manukau and Waitemata Harbours. In 1860 he adjudicated on competition entries for a water supply for Auckland.[25]

Apart from these activities, he built only a few civil works in the colony. A 'defensive police station' was partially constructed to his designs in 1865 at Kohekohe[26] and he was responsible in 1863 for extensions to St Paul's Church, Emily Place, Auckland (begun 1841, consecrated 1844, demolished, 1885),[27] a commission he undertook in a private capacity rather than as Inspector of Public Works. Despite his paucity of experience as an architect, he possessed strong and seemingly unshakeable convictions on questions

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[21]John Weiler, 'Army Architects', p. 424. Typescript held by Royal Engineers' Library, Brompton Barracks, Chatham.

[22]See Crawford, p. 300.

[23]Captain R. F. Edwards, R. E. (ed.), *Roll of the Officers of the Corps of the Royal Engineers from 1660-1898*, Chatham, 1898.

[24]He designed additions to the stockade for Otahuhu, for example. See AD, 64/247.

[25]The foregoing works are attributed to Mould in Furkert, pp. 231-2.

[26]See *A.J.H.R.*, 1865, E. -1.

[27]St Paul's, Emily Place, was designed by William Mason and closely resembled his design for St James' Church, Brightlingsea, Essex (1836). See Stacpoole, pp. 38, 39, 47 & 48. On Mould's additions to St. Paul's see *ibid.*, pp. 48 & 108.

of architectural style - views which, by virtue of his position in both the military and civil establishments, carried considerable weight in the colony. His declarations on questions of architectural style were to bring into sharp focus the different approaches of professional architects and military engineers - approaches which already distinguished the work of the trained architects of the northern settlements (notably, Thatcher) from that of the military engineers of New Munster.

As influential as his opinions were, Mould's untutored architectural judgements form only the backdrop to the Crown's efforts to provide government buildings. The General Government usually commissioned architects in private practice to design new buildings and often secured designs via architectural competitions. The history of General Government architecture between 1853 and 1868 is therefore episodic in character - comprising a series of loosely related architectural competitions, commissions and projects undertaken in an often poorly co-ordinated attempt to provide government buildings.

The first building the newly constituted General Assembly required was a building in which to meet. By February 1854 Reader Wood had been instructed to design a General Assembly House, also referred to as a Parliament House, as part of his work for the Lands and Survey Department. He was thus presented with the first significant opportunity to give architectural expression to the new
27. constitutional arrangements. The building Wood designed was, however, widely regarded as an inauspicious beginning to New Zealand's parliamentary architecture. Henry Sewell (1807-79) 'one of

the leaders of the first generation of colonial politicians'[28] described it as 'a great wooden barnshaped affair, which might serve for a Hospital, a Jail, or a Barrack - or if gutted be turned into a Methodist Meeting House'.[29] A contemporary newspaper report described it as a 'wretched, ill constructed building'.[30]

Erected in the tradition of the simple utilitarian structures of the previous decade, it was likewise the product of the same sense of urgency. Wood had designed the building by February and had it erected by May 1854 in time for the first session of the Assembly that month. Although first intended as a meeting place for parliament, it was also envisaged that the building should be 'capable of being converted when occasion required to public offices, especially for the Survey Department'.[31] A simple, timber-framed, two-storeyed building,[32] the exterior was clad with dressed weather boards painted a stone colour.[33] The interior was fully match-lined.[34] The only concession to architectural style was a Palladian window in one of its gable ends, the inclusion of which betrayed

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[28]W. David McIntyre, 'Sewell, Henry 1807-1879', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One: 1769-1869* (W. H. Oliver, gen. ed.), Wellington, 1990, p. 391.

[29]W. David McIntrye (ed.), *The Journal of Henry Sewell 1853-7, Volume II: May 1854 - May 1857*, Christchurch, 1980, p. 26, and also quoted in the caption to plate 52, between pp. 224-5.

[30]*Southern Cross*, 30 May 1854, as quoted in McIntyre (ed.), *The Journal of Henry Sewell 1853-7, Volume II: May 1854 - May 1857*, p. 26, f.n. 1.

[31]IA, 1, 54/525, Richmond, 3 February 1854, held with IA, 1, 54/1326. In 1856 some of the rooms were, as anticipated, subdivided for offices, the alterations being designed by William Mason. A floor plan is held with IA, 1, 56/3270.

[32]It was located roughly 'behind the present Supreme Court' on land now 'partly crossed by Anzac Avenue'. The building was demolished in the 1920s, after being used by Auckland University College in 1890-1918.

[33]Ia, 1, 54/525, held with IA, 1, 54/1326. See the specification of the glazier and painter's work on p. 2 of the bricklayer's specifications.

[34]*Ibid.*, 'Specification for the Work to be Done in the Erection of Council Chamber for the General Assembly Auckland', p. 6.

Wood's training in an architectural office devoted almost entirely to design in the classical idiom. The evocation in New Zealand of the Westminster system of government through architectural reference to Barry and Pugin's Perpendicular Gothic Houses of Parliament, Westminster (1837-67) would have to wait another decade.

i. Government House, Auckland (1855-6)

The focus of architectural expression of colonial government and British sovereignty between 1853 and 1869 was, in any case, the provision of a new Government House. Since the destruction of Manning's prefabricated building in 1848, the Governor had lived in rented accommodation.[35] In 1853 he agreed to the construction of a new Government House, telling a deputation of Aucklanders that plans had already been prepared for the building and if the Executive Council agreed 'no time would be lost'[36] in arranging for its construction. Although Grey was probably referring to plans prepared by Wood some three years earlier,[37] the Executive Council decided, on

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[35]See chapter one, p. 53, f.n. 113.

[36]Quoted in G. A. Wood, *The Governor and his Northern House*, Auckland, 1975, p. 14. Wood's source is *Southern Cross*, 20 May 1853. Grey's response was also reported in Wellington. See also *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 4 June 1853, p. 2.

[37]Wood, p. 14, implies that no plans were prepared and that Grey may therefore have been bluffing. However, extensive specifications for a new Government House (which refer to drawings for the building), and estimates dated 19 April 1850, were prepared by Wood. Both are held as IA, 1, 1850/609.

Reader Wood's proposed building was to have a timber frame on brick foundations, the bricks from the foundations and chimneys of the building destroyed by fire being cleaned and reused for the new one. See IA, 1, 1850/609, 'Specification, Digger, Bricklayer and Plasterer', unpaginated.

The house was to consist of a main and detached service buildings linked by covered ways. The detached building(s) are mentioned in *ibid.*, pp. 2, 5, 6, 12, 15, and p. 2 of the 'Specification of Plumber Glazier and Painter'.

In so far as the house affected any architectural style, it was presumably classical. The kitchen (admittedly part of a detached building) was to have a '3 light Venetian window', see *ibid.*, p. 11.

25 May 1853, to arrange an architectural competition for new designs[38] (none of which now survives). Ironically, first premium was awarded to Wood and second to Charles Heaphy and James Baber,[39] both of whom worked with Wood in the Lands and Survey Department.

Both designs were heavily criticised in the local press by Mason, who had also entered the competition. According to Mason, neither could be constructed. He criticised Wood for attempting to span 70 feet [21.3 m] with two unsupported girders and Baber and Heaphy for attempting to support first floor partitions on joists which spanned 30 feet [9.1 m] and were only 12 inches [304.8 mm] thick.[40] Wood in turn alleged that Mason had misread his drawings; he intended to span only 31 feet. Baber and Heaphy argued that Mason had likewise misunderstood the means by which they proposed to support first-floor partitions - they were to be supported on a fully-framed floor not on mere joists.[41] Mason, however, was not content to let the matter rest. He found further fault with Wood's winning design, alleging that he intended to support the 31 foot girders with a single tenon. He also continued to question Heaphy and Baber's ability to span large distances, suggesting that thirty feet was 'perhaps greater than they had been accustomed to dealing with'.[42]

Whatever the merits of his arguments, Mason succeeded, via his criticism, in promoting his own architectural credentials. While

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[38]See Wood, p. 14.

[39]*New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 24 September 1853, p. 3.

[40]*New-Zealander*, 3 September 1853, p. 2.

[41]*Ibid.*, 7 September 1853, p. 3.

[42]*Ibid.*, 21 September 1853, p. 3.

'admitting the superior knowledge' of the architects whose work he criticised, he recounted how, at age 19, he 'superintended the erection of Carlton Hall, a building covering more than an acre of ground' and 'under Sir Edward Blore superintended the improvements at Buckingham and Lambeth Palaces besides completing many other public and private buildings in various parts of Europe'.[43] Who better, he implied, to design New Zealand's vice-regal residence than the architect who had worked on the royal palaces themselves. This self-promotion assisted Mason to secure the job of designing and supervising construction of the building but as a Provincial rather than General Government commission.

By mid 1854 the proposal to erect a new Government House had become a political pawn in a battle between Auckland and Wellington to become the seat of Government, a battle which resulted in the Auckland Provincial Government rather than the General Government constructing the building. At the General Assembly's first meeting in May 1854 Wellington politicians sought (unsuccessfully) to ensure that the Assembly's next meeting would be held in Wellington. In an effort to consolidate Auckland's status as the capital of New Zealand, Auckland politicians pursued the construction of a new Government House with increased vigour. To ensure its immediate erection they decided to fund construction from provincial revenue. The Superintendent of the Auckland Province, Col. Wynyard (who was also Acting Governor),[44] authorised its construction, intending to pass the costs on to the General Government.[45]

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[43] *Ibid.*

[44] Wynyard arrived in New Zealand 'during the wars against Hone Heke in 1845' and was Lieutenant Governor of New Ulster after the death of Major-General Pitt in 1851. He 'injudiciously' accepted election as Superintendent of Auckland Province - an office he was instructed to resign'. See Wood, p. 14. Wynyard was Acting Governor or Administrator

By November 1854, tenders for construction of a house in either stone or timber were called,[46] presumably to one of the successful competition designs. A special sub-committee of the Auckland Provincial Council, appointed to examine the tenders and decide whether a stone or timber building should be built, recommended preparation of new designs for a temporary timber building. None of the tenders, it said, was reliable because the architect of the designs had not had sufficient time to prepare adequate specifications. On 28 December 1854 Mason was offered the commission to design and supervise construction of a temporary timber building.[47] According to one report, the house was to be converted into public offices when a permanent Government House was built.[48]

Work on its construction proceeded smoothly. Mason's plans and specifications were prepared by 5 February 1855; tenders were due by 28 February 1855;[49] William Hay's tender was accepted in March of that year[50] and the building was under construction when a new Governor, Colonel Thomas Gore Browne (1807-87), arrived in Auckland

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from 3 January 1854 (shortly after Grey's departure) until 6 September 1855 when Col. Thomas Gore Browne assumed office as Governor. See Guy H. Scholefield (ed.), *New Zealand Parliamentary Record 1840-1949*, Wellington, 1950, p. 25.

[45]Wood, p. 16, observes, that 'Wynyard as administrator, and his central government officials, would have been ill-advised to have attempted to force parliament's hand by building a new Government House and then expecting parliament to foot the bill. But Wynyard the Superintendent of Auckland, advised by Auckland provincial politicians, was not so inhibited'.

[46]*New-Zealander*, 25 November 1854, p. 1.

[47]Stacpoole, p. 57, observes that Mason 'rather disengenuously [sic] assumed that he was receiving the appointment of Provincial Architect and that is in fact what he became'.

[48]*New-Zealander*, 13 December 1854, p. 3.

[49]*Southern Cross*, 27 February 1855, p. 5. Tenders for 'undertaking the cuttings for laying out the grounds' were due 15 April 1856. See *ibid.*, 11 April 1856, p. 2.

[50]*Auckland Provincial Government Gazette*, 21 March 1855, p. 34.

in September 1855. The first function, a levee for Queen's Birthday 1856,[51] was held while the building was unfinished; the house 'opened' with a ball in July that year.[52]

The floor plans of the building reflect conventional classical planning practice. The house has a two-storey range containing the principal public rooms on the ground floor and bedrooms on the first, with 'the traffic routes on the main axes'.[53] Subsidiary parts of
28. the house are set to either side of the main range or to the rear. Ground floor service rooms flank one end of the central range and rooms for the Governor and officials flank the other. A single-
29. storey ballroom is located at the rear of the building. Some rooms are located on the first floor above the Governor's, officials' and service rooms but they are set back from the garden facade of the central range.

The garden facade is the focus of architectural expression.
30. The rusticated cladding of the ground floor, Gibbs surrounds of the ground floor windows, close boarding of the first floor and imitation quoins create a more or less convincing impression of stone construction. In its use of timber to imitate stone it looks back to Mason's earlier Supreme Court House, Queen Street, Auckland (1841-2, completed by David Rough in 1844), although the scale and function of the court house and the Government House are very different. In contrast to the main facade, the subsidiary parts of the Government House and rear elevations are of little architectural consequence.

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[51] *New-Zealander*, 28 May 1856, p. 2.

[52] *NZ Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 26 July 1856, p. 3.

[53] Jill Franklin, *The Gentleman's Country House and its Plan, 1835-1914*, London, 1981, p. 129.

They have conventional, ship-lap cladding and the more visible areas have broad, overhanging eaves supported by oversize brackets.

Mason's knowledge of potential models for the building was wide. As he indicated when he wrote to the *New-Zealander* criticising other architects' entries in the competition for the design of Government House, he had first-hand knowledge of a number of royal palaces. In addition, he was doubtless familiar with Blore's Gothic vice-regal Government House, Bennelong Point, Sydney (1837-45), construction of which was being supervised by Mortimer Lewis while Mason was working in Lewis' office.

Having considered the options open to him, Mason chose to follow the British fashion for Italianate residences popularised by Thomas Cubitt's Osborne House, Isle of Wight (1845-53) - a building he could have known only via illustration and description.[54] Admittedly Mason's design has none of the picturesque massing of Cubitt's building (nor Italianate works such as Charles Barry's Trentham Hall, Staffordshire, 1834-42), nor the palazzo form of Italianate houses built on restricted urban sites, such as Barry's Bridgewater House (1845-54). Mason concentrates instead on the architectural design of a single facade, an approach which recalls that of his former master, Blore, at Buckingham Palace. Although Blore had 'almost entirely eschewed' the classical in the design of country houses,[55] in his work at Buckingham Palace - completion of Nash's Garden (West) front (which Mason would have known at first

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[54]A perspective of the entrance or garden front and floor plan was published in the *Builder*, 25 November 1848, pp. 570-1.

[55]H. D. Meller, 'Blore's Country Houses', M.A. Report, Cortauld Institute, University of London, 1975, p. 52.

hand) and design of the East wing (built 1846)[56] - he concentrated on the design of new, symmetrical, classical facades, rather than the creation of an irregular and picturesque composition of elements.

The architectural problems Blore and Mason confronted were, however, very different. Blore faced the challenge of adding to and enhancing an already extant building and Nash's incomplete additions; Mason the restrictions of a modest budget (£10,000)[57] and the necessity to use timber to construct a building he clearly believed deserved to be built in a more noble material. His solution (construction of a timber facade which looked as if it was built of stone), though unusual for such a large building, was reasonably common in colonial New Zealand and pioneering mid-west America.

To Thatcher and others who were among the guests at the first levee,[58] Mason's Government House was, of course, little more than a sham. Sewell, who had earlier criticised Wood's Parliament House, also denounced Mason's Government House as

> a large pretentious building, with a Palladian front, greatly disproportioned to the extent of land round it, and above all, a sham, a wooden building affecting to look like stone; ill-contrived in its internal arrangements, of indefinite cost to keep in repair, altogether a thing to be ashamed of and disgusted at.[59]

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[56]Blore had prepared a design in January 1845. See J. Mordaunt Crook & M. H. Port, *The History of the King's Works, Volume VI: 1782-1851*, London, 1973, p. 289.

[57]*New Zealander*, 13 December 1854, p. 3.

[58]See *ibid.*, 28 May 1856, p. 2.

[59]McIntyre (ed.), *The Journal of Henry Sewell 1853-7*, vol. II, p. 254. Rev. Vicesimus Lush was similarly dismissive, commenting 'It [Government House] is far from a good design being too much of a pretence - the elevation showing columns, pilasters, architraves, a pediment, &c., as though it were a *stone* building in the Grecian style - instead of being but of wood. A good building could have been designed which would have manifested its material and yet been an ornament to the place'. Alison Drummond (ed.), *The Auckland Journals of Vicesimus Lush, 1850-63* [Christchurch], 1971, p. 167.

One of those who it is alleged disliked the building was the new Governor, Thomas Gore Browne, who (like Grey and Thatcher) was a close friend of Bishop Selwyn.[60] Ashworth had earlier criticised Mason's Auckland Supreme Court House on the grounds that it was a sham but Ashworth was a lone voice in the early 1840s. In 1856 there was a much larger group of architects and administrators familiar with the design principles of the Gothic Revival who would not tolerate the construction of 'shams'. With their arrival on the one hand, and the rise to prominence of architects and architectural advisers such as Mason and Mould on the other, the scene was set for a colonial New Zealand version of the 'Battle of the Styles'.[61] The battles would be fought over the construction of another Government House but would continue to erupt throughout the period 1853-68 in the comments architects and newspaper journalists made about the appropriate style for New Zealand's government buildings.

Proponents of the Gothic style were aware of the theoretical issues at stake. The Gothic style was promoted as the national style of England (and therefore of New Zealand) and its associations with Toryism could hardly have escaped their notice. For others, Gothic, as the Christian style, was unsuited to use for secular buildings; classical, being 'pagan', was appropriate. Few engaged in the 'battle' at this level, however; architects remained essentially pragmatic in approach. Some merely expressed a taste for symmetry.

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[60]See B. J. Dalton, 'Browne, Thomas Robert Gore 1807-1887', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One: 1769-1869* (W. H. Oliver, gen. ed.), Wellington, 1990, p. 47.

[61]On the 'Battle of the Styles' in Britain see Ian Toplis, *The Foreign Office: An Architectural History*, London, 1987, esp. Chapter 20 'Such was the Battle of the Styles', pp. 200-7 & M. H. Port, *Imperial London: Civil Government Building in London 1851-1915*, London, 1995, chapter 13, 'The Battle of the Styles', pp. 198-210.

It was decided to build a new house to replace Mason's, not to assuage his architectural critics, but rather as part of a larger proposal to house General Government officials and reimburse the Auckland Provincial Government for construction of Mason's building. On 14 August 1856 the General Assembly considered a Select Committee report on the Auckland Provincial Government's claim for reimbursement. It fully agreed with the Committee's recommendations, resolving that Mason's building was not suitable as a Government House but could serve as a House of General Assembly and Government Offices; that the General Assembly's present offices, Houses of Assembly, and any other public reserves available for the purpose should be transferred to the Auckland Province in payment for Mason's building; and that a new Government House should be built on the Government Domain at a cost of £8000.[62] By passing these resolutions the General Government reasserted control over construction of government buildings, while also providing the necessary resources for the Auckland Province to house its own government departments.

Plans were prepared in 1856 for a new Government House for construction in permanent materials. Two projects survive - one classical, the other Gothic. The classical project is not signed but is presumably Mould's work; the Gothic project is signed by him. Both are in many ways typical of buildings designed by military engineers. In plan and elevation, the classical project is symmetrical, the architectural decoration being mainly reserved for the centre and ends of the composition. Similar, though slightly less rigorous, regularity is evident in the Gothic project -

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[62] *N.Z.P.D.*, 1856-8, pp. 361-2.

certainly, there is no evidence of any interest in picturesque utility.

It is thus scarcely surprising that those who disliked Mason's building - notably the Governor and his advisors - were not much impressed by Mould's projects. As a result they considered holding another architectural competition to obtain a design for a new Government House, preferably in the medieval style. On reflection, however, the Governor thought that 'the delay in calling designs for the new Government House would prevent its completion by the time it would be required'.[63] In any case, he was 'very anxious to have the advice and assistance of Mr Mountfort'[64] of Christchurch, an avowed Puginian who could be relied upon to create an up-to-date design fully in accord with the design principles of the Gothic Revival.

Mountfort arrived in Auckland to prepare plans for a new Government House in December 1856, just over a fortnight after Mould had completed the elevations of his Gothic project. Although Mountfort's plans for Government House have not been located (and probably do not survive), in correspondence he provided a reasonably detailed explanation of them.[65] His design was prepared in 'The Domestic English pointed style' which he thought was the 'most suitable for a building intended for the residence of the representative of the British Crown in an English Colony'.[66] Gothic was the style, as Mountfort pointed out, of 'the new Palace at

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[63]IA, 1, 60/1708. See also Stacpoole, p. 63.

[64]IA, 1, 60/1708.

[65]For a full analysis of Mountfort's design see Ian James Lochhead, 'The Early Works of Benjamin Woolfield Mountfort 1850-1865', M.A. Thesis (Art History), University of Auckland, 1975, pp. 89-94.

[66]IA, 1, 60/1708.

Westminster', and the only one which, in any case, he would have tolerated. He believed that

> As it is the endeavour of Englishmen when founding a Colony to introduce all the Sciences, Arts, Laws and time honoured institutions of their native land, it seems also natural that their native historical architecture should have a prominent place accorded to it - so soon as the exigencies of the time should demand more permanent and material edifices than the temporary erections at first made use of.[67]

Mountfort intended to build the house with local scoria and Matakana stone dressings. According to his description, it was to be entered via a prospect tower. Through the tower was to be a hall rising the full height of the house with an open timber roof and lantern. The principal public rooms were to be grouped on the ground floor around the hall and the bedrooms on the first floor.[68] A spring-door in the hall was to lead to a corridor to the service areas of the house 'thus cutting off all this department at once from the house proper'.[69]

Mountfort observed of his designs (as he could not of Mould's projects or Mason's house) that

> There are no strings or projections merely for the sake of ornament, no sham cornices, no balustrade to conceal the roofs ... there has been no attempt at disguising the different parts of the building: it has been the Architect's endeavour to treat it honestly and naturally, and in the words of an eminent Architectural writer & critic [Pugin] "Every building that is treated naturally without disguise or concealment cannot fail to look well".[70]

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[67] *Ibid.*

[68] Lochhead points out the similarities of this arrangement and that 'used by Pugin at the Grange, Ramsgate, built in 1843'. See Lochhead, p. 91.

[69] IA, 1, 60/1708.

[70] *Ibid.*

In short, Mountfort's designs revealed an interest in picturesque utility, honest construction and a Puginian distaste for adventitious ornament not evident in Mason's and Mould's work.

Mountfort's project also had a symbolic dimension lacking in Mould's. Mason's Government House was built by the Auckland Provincial Government to consolidate Auckland's status as the capital of the colony; Mountfort's project was in contrast to be expressive of the achievements and resources of the colony as a whole. The panels between the beams of the drawing room ceiling were to be 'painted with Heraldic colours in devices, monograms and emblems of the different provinces'[71] and the ceiling of the dining room was 'to be treated in a similar manner but in a severer style'.[72] Ultimately Mountfort thought it

> advisable to make the building serve as an instance of the industrial powers of the Islands combining in the construction the productions of several provinces as for instance, chimney pieces of a stone of one place, ornamental panelling from another, paving and varigated wall tiles from a third.[73]

Thus various kinds of New Zealand wood were also to be 'arranged with regard to their colour to give a good effect'.[74] As Lochhead points out, these proposals parallel Deane and Woodward's incorporation of building materials from the different parts of the British Isles in the Oxford Museum (1855-9).[75] In the same way that the Oxford Museum was to become 'the embodiment of the natural sciences',[76] so

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[71] *Ibid.*

[72] *Ibid.*

[73] *Ibid.*

[74] *Ibid.*

[75] See Lochhead, pp. 93-4.

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

Mountfort's Government House was to embody and stimulate a wide range of colonial industry, giving the various settlements 'a lively interest in the building'.[77]

Since Mountfort was unfamiliar with the local building trade, he suggested that 'some person of experience should be consulted as to the cost of the edifice' he planned.[78] He envisaged that a 'practical builder' would be consulted, but instead an estimate was calculated by Mould, providing him with the opportunity to express his views on Mountfort's project. In a memorandum of the same date as his estimate (10 February 1857) Mould criticised various aspects of Mountfort's project, including what he believed were structural deficiencies - a proposal to construct a 'heavy corbelled chimney over a wide opening for the arcade',[79] for example.

Ultimately Mould brought to Mountfort's project the same taste for classical symmetry evident in his own work. He conceded that Mountfort's proposed Government House 'would doubtless externally be picturesque in its quaintness and irregularity' but questioned whether it would be 'lastingly pleasing to the eye formed to observe regularity in outline'.[80] Mountfort (and his then partner Isaac Luck) prepared a reply to Mould's criticism which established 'With few exceptions' that they 'were either arbitrary, ill-considered or unjustified'.[81] Influenced by Pugin 'in all but his advocacy of

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[77]IA, 1, 60/1708.

[78]*Ibid.*

[79]*Ibid.*

[80]*Ibid.*

[81]Lochhead, pp. 94-5. For an alternative view see John Stacpoole, *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1976, p. 67, viz: 'Mountfort's reply to this criticism was not particularly convincing and boiled down to his belief that the "native historical architecture of England should have a prominent place accorded it in the new Colony" '.

Roman Catholicism',[82] Mountfort contrasted 'ancient and true principles' with 'modern false principles', drawing heavily on the ideas outlined by Pugin in *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841).[83] In Mould's memorandum and Mountfort's reply the conflict between the modern, up-to-date design principles of the Gothic Revival and the conservative attitudes of the country's Royal Engineers (and architects such as Mason) were clearly revealed.

However, neither Mountfort nor Mould had the satisfaction of seeing their designs built; neither won the first round of New Zealand's 'Battle of the Styles'. No meeting of the General Assembly was held in 1857 and when it did meet the following year Stafford explained that the House had not been built, mainly because of a lack of funds. Although he assured the Assembly that it was intended to introduce bills at the next session to implement the 1856 resolution to build a new house[84] nothing further was done. When in 1859 Mountfort enquired about his design, he was told that it was not intended to proceed with construction of the House. Mason's Government House continued to serve as a Governor's residence and it was not until 1861 that settlement was reached (by arbitration) for payment for its construction, the General Government paying the Auckland Provincial Government £11,650.[85]

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[82]Lochhead, p. 31.

[83]For a full account of Mountfort's architectural principles as set out in his reply to Mould and other documents see Lochhead, chapter 2, pp. 19-34. For a concise account of Mountfort's career see Ian J. Lochhead, 'Mountfort, Benjamin Woolfield 1825-1898', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One: 1769-1869* (W. H. Oliver, gen. ed.), Wellington 1990, pp. 301-2.

[84]*N.Z.P.D.*, 1856-8, p. 382.

[85]*A.J.H.R.*, 1865, D.-4, p. 21.

Since it was no longer intended to build a new Government House and appropriate Mason's Government House as Government offices, the General Government's attention turned instead to construction of permanent government offices. In February 1862, Robert S. Anderson, a draftsman in the Government Survey Office,[86] prepared designs for a new House of Assembly, Supreme Court and offices for the General and Provincial Governments. His project is not extant, though again some information survives. According to Anderson, all the various offices including the House of Assembly and Supreme Court were to be combined in the one structure. Nearly 'all of the architectural details on the exterior' were to be built of terracotta imported from Britain.[87] Anderson described the architectural style as Roman Doric and referred to a campanile and a colonnade across the principal facade.

In arguing for construction of his project, Anderson added yet another voice to the debate about the appropriate style for New Zealand's first permanent General Government buildings. According to Anderson, Roman Doric was

> best suited for a building of the nature required and if adopted could be carried out a[t] considerably less cost than either the Italian or the Elizabethan styles of architecture. Any of the others could only be executed by means of a very large increase of Expenditure; and the enormous expense attending the execution of the Gothic Ornamental detail would render the style under existing circumstances impractical.[88]

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[86]See *Stevens and Bartholomew's New Zealand Directory for 1866-7*, Melbourne [1866?], p. 88.

[87]IA, 1, 62/417.

[88]*Ibid.*

The view that Gothic necessarily entailed a large amount of expensive ornament, also advanced by some classicists in Britain,[89] was thus used by Anderson to justify his own aesthetic preference for what he maintained was one of the cheaper classical styles: Roman Doric. Anderson's arguments, pitched to appeal to officials concerned to limit cost, would doubtless have found favour with Mould. An added attraction was that Doric, as the primitive style, could be considered appropriate in a crude and primitive colonial environment.

Anderson's project, like the many prepared for a Government House, was never built. Indeed, despite the preparation of numerous plans, and the expression of conflicting views on the appropriate style for New Zealand's first permanent government buildings, no buildings of 'permanent materials' were built by the General Government until the 1860s. Progress was being made, however. In 1863 the General Government agreed to purchase the Government House site and associated land for £25,000, providing that Auckland province itself spend the sum on construction of a new Government House in the Domain, and government buildings for the use of the Provincial and General Governments in the reserve around Albert Barracks.[90] In the event, the General Government was to be more closely associated with the design and construction of the buildings than it first envisaged, launching on an ambitious project for constructing a Government House, Supreme Court House and Post Office

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[89]For example, James Edmeston, Snr, to whom George Gilbert Scott was articled, believed that 'the cost of Gothic was prohibitive'. See David Cole, *The Work of Sir Gilbert Scott*, London, 1980, p. 4.

[90]For a contemporary account of these financial transactions, and difficulties caused by incorrect description in legal documents of the amount of land to be sold see *A.J.H.R.*, 1865, D.-4, pp. 20-21.

and Customs House, which at last resulted in the construction of some buildings.

ii. The Public Buildings Commission, Supreme Court House (1865-8) and Post Office and Customs House (1865-8), Auckland

In March 1864, the Governor appointed a Commission comprising both Provincial and General Government politicians[91] to

> select and determine sites, to obtain and sanction plans, and to take all such other necessary steps... for causing the construction without delay of a Government House, Supreme Court House and a Custom House and Post Office.[92]

Architect Sampson Kempthorne (1809-73) was appointed secretary,[93] though William Weaver (1828-68), Provincial Engineer of Auckland Province (1854-6),[94] provided the architectural advice the lay Commissioners required.[95]

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[91]They were William Crush Daldy, Alfred Domett, John Anderson Gilfillan, William Gisborne, Robert Graham, Charles Knight, Albin Martin, Joseph Newman, William Swainson and Frederick Whitaker. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1865, D.-4, p. 1 & Stacpoole, *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand*, p. 115.

[92]*A.J.H.R.*, 1865, D.-4, p. 1.

[93]He was dismissed by the Commissioners on 1 March 1865 when they reported that 'as the business of the Commission did not appear to justify them in the employment of a paid Secretary at a salary of £300 a year, the Commissioners, after giving Mr. Kempthorne a month's notice, ceased to employ his services, on the 1st instant [March 1865]'. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1865, D.-4, p. 23. The Commission had earlier censured Kempthorne at its meeting of 24 January 1865 for 'communicating with Col. Mould and the Hon Mr Sewell on the subject of the Public Buildings in Princes Street'. See IA, 1, 65/1813, pp. 23-4. At the Commission's meeting of 9 February 1865 the Commissioners explained that 'the resolution respecting [termination of] his [Kempthorne's] services had nothing to do with what occurred before'.

[94]On Weaver's work as Colonial Architect of New South Wales see Peter Leggett Reynolds, 'The Evolution of the Government Architect's Branch of the New South Wales Department of Public Works 1788-1911', Ph.D. Thesis (Architecture), University of New South Wales, Sydney, 1972, chapter XI, pp. 223-34. For a general account of Weaver's training and early life see *ibid.*, pp. 223-5 & 441-3; Furkert, pp. 288-9 & Stacpoole, *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand*, p. 118.

[95]He also designed a temporary timber court house for use while the permanent one was under construction. Tenders were called for the temporary building in February. See *New Zealand Herald*, 27 February 1865, p. 1.

In weekly meetings during March 1864 the Commission decided on sites for the buildings and 'the means of obtaining designs from architects in this and the neighbouring [Australian] colonies' by competition.[96] By July 1864, when the Commission issued its first report,[97] the overriding criterion for selection of designs had been established: the buildings must form a visually related group. According to the Commissioners it was 'of the highest importance' that all the public buildings which would soon be required in Auckland were built close to each other without 'intervention of any buildings of a private character so that they may be comprised within one open square or place'.[98] The aim was to 'form such a *tout ensemble* [centred on the Supreme Court House] as cannot be equalled in any town in the Colony'.[99]

The Commission considered a site for the Supreme Court 'in front of the General Assembly House' but recommended instead a site on 'the reserve on which the present Government House stands, together with the open land on the brow of the hill on its western side'. It preferred the reserve site because once the Albert Barracks were demolished[100] further public buildings could be built there,[101] notably a Music Hall and any Provincial Government Buildings that might be required.[102] The Post Office and Customs

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[96]*A.J.H.R.*, 1865, D.-4, p. 1.

[97]See *ibid.*, pp. 1-8.

[98]*Ibid.*, p. 2.

[99]*Ibid.*, p. 3.

[100]In accordance with arrangements between the General Government and military officers.

[101]The proposed site was later changed. See IA, 1, 65/1512.

[102]Kempthorne also set out a plan for construction of buildings on Barrack Hill, between Princes and Symonds Street. At the crest of the hill was to be a monumental column or campanile commemorating war heroes. Public and commercial buildings were to line a square. See Stacpoole, *Colonial*

House was to be built 'to the westward of the Queen Street Wharf or Pier',[103] though not as separate buildings. According to the Commissioners

> the combination of the Custom House with the Post Office, as contiguous buildings on one site, would afford much greater opportunity for producing an effective appearance as a whole, than the two buildings could produce on separate sites.[104]

As earlier proposed, the Government House was to be built in the Domain.[105]

Competition designs and estimates for the buildings were called in March 1864.[106] Prospective entrants were provided with detailed information about accommodation requirements, the proposed sites of the buildings[107] and the building materials to be used. All the buildings were to have scoria foundations and to be built of 'brick with stone dressings'.[108] Commissioners required 'as a first consideration - substantiality, durability, and commodiousness in the designs'. They recommended that architects gain effect 'more by boldness and character of outline, than by expenditure of ornamental detail' but they did not impose any restrictions on the choice of architectural style.[109]

Architecture in New Zealand, pp. 115-6; Stacpoole, *William Mason: The First New Zealand Architect*, p. 128 & *Auckland Weekly News*, 3 September 1864. Kempthorne's proposal exceeded the Commission's terms of reference and was never officially adopted.

[103] *A.J.H.R.*, 1865, D.-4, p. 2.

[104] *Ibid.*

[105] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[106] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[107] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

[108] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[109] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

As a result, designs in a wide range of styles were submitted. In a detailed appraisal of some of them the *New-Zealander* articulated the belief in the propriety of classical styles for public buildings already enunciated by Mould, the government's principal architectural adviser. Possibly Mould was the author of the article; certainly it reflected his views.

According to the *New-Zealander* the design for Government House with the motto 'IX within a circle' being 'castellated Gothic, of the baronial character, Plantagenet era',[110] although 'attractive and bold in outline and general effect', would be expensive to build and any 'attempt to "cut down"' the design would 'neutralise its effect, if not destroy its character'.[111] Though its solid construction 'was adapted to the requirements of the feudal times and mediaeval manners' it would, according to the *New-Zealander*, 'scarcely be consistent under present circumstances and in a genial climate, even if the expense was of little consideration'.[112]

Likewise, the *New-Zealander* observed of a Gothic design of 'ecclesiastical character' (identified by the motto Z within a circle) that

> It may be objected that a Gothic edifice in this style would not well comport with the street architecture of the surrounding position: and there are, perhaps, few instances occur [sic] of courts of justice being built in the Gothic style.[113]

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[110] *New-Zealander*, 30 August 1864, p. 3.

[111] *Ibid.*

[112] *Ibid.* Another design in Tudor Gothic 'of the early Elizabethan era' had a principal elevation which the *New-Zealander* believed was not as 'effective in outline as the design within circle'. According to the *New-Zealander*, the Tudor Gothic designs could be 'greatly improved by the tower being brought forward and heightened, and the upper storey also heightened, and other minor alterations, without greatly increasing the expense'. See *ibid.*

[113] *Ibid.*

Certainly there were few court houses in New Zealand in the Gothic

34. style. Instead, many, such as C. R. Carter's Wellington Court House (1858),[114] modelled on William Stark's Court House, Glasgow (c. 1807-14), were Greek Revival in style. However, as Alfred Waterhouse's Manchester Assize Courts (1859) already attested (and the Royal Courts of Justice, London, competition of 1866-7 was soon to confirm) no such objections to the Gothic style would be tolerated in England.

Despite the acceptance of the Gothic style for court houses in England, the Commissioners awarded first premium for Auckland's Supreme Court to a classical entry prepared by Mr Honey of Sydney.[115] Mr Baston of Hobart won first premium for the Post Office and Customs House with an entry which can reasonably be assumed to have been classical in style, though Dunedin-based Edward Rumsey won the premium for the Government House with the castellated Gothic design which the *New-Zealander* thought both too costly and impossible to alter without detrimental effect.[116]

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[114]Stacpoole, *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand*, p. 64.

[115]Probably Frank Trevor Honey (1833-65). See Miles Lewis, 'The Tasman Connection: Regionalism, Colonialism and Nationalism', *Regional Responses: Papers and Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians of Australia and New Zealand, Christchurch, New Zealand 6-8 July 1991* (Ian Lochhead, ed.), Christchurch, 1995, p. 33. On Honey, see Donald Watson & Judith McKay, *Queensland Architects of the Nineteenth Century: A Biographical Dictionary*, Brisbane, 1994, p. 100 & Joan Kerr (ed.), *The Dictionary of Australian Architects*, Melbourne, 1992, p. 371.

[116]*Daily Southern Cross*, 12 September 1864, p. 4. The second premium for the Government House was awarded to Mr Baston of Hobart; for the Supreme Court to 'Mr Clark of Melbourne' and for the Post Office and Customs House to 'Mr Henderson of Auckland'. See *ibid.*, and also Stacpoole, *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand*, pp. 116-7. Mr Clark is John James Clark (1838-1915) and Mr Henderson, Matthew Henderson, active in Auckland 1866-86. On Clark see K. L. Dynan & Joan Kerr, 'Clark, John James (1838-195)', *The Dictionary of Australian Artists* (Joan Kerr, ed.), pp. 152-3 & Jennifer Fowler, 'British Inheritance, Colonial Usage: The Architecture of John James and Edward James Clark', *Regional Responses: Papers and Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians of Australia and New Zealand, Christchurch, New Zealand 6-8 July 1991* (Ian Lochhead, ed.), Christchurch, 1995, pp. 87-93. On Henderson see Peter Shaw, *New Zealand Architecture from Polynesian Beginnings to 1990*, Auckland, 1991, pp. 41 & 62.

None of the competition entries fully satisfied the Commission. It preferred Ionic's entry for the elevation of the Supreme Court House but the floor plans of Equity's classical entry and it had various concerns about Rumsey's Government House design. Echoing the *New-Zealander*, it questioned whether the walls of Rumsey's Government House project would be thick enough to bear the weight of the machicolations in the tower and terrace front and, seeking clarification of what the *New-Zealander* thought impossible, it wished to know if the ornament could be reduced without materially affecting 'the character and effect'.[117]

Not prepared to proceed with construction of any of the competition entries, the Commission entrusted William Weaver with the task of altering them.[118] Weaver first concentrated on the design of the Supreme Court House. His designs were approved by the Commissioners on 5 October[119] when it was resolved that if the Chief Justice did not have any material suggestions Weaver was to prepare working drawings and specifications. In the event, the Chief Justice had more serious concerns than the Commissioners envisaged. There were, he said, 'incurable' problems with the internal arrangements shown in Weaver's plans and the amount of accommodation that the Commission proposed was insufficient.[120]

Meanwhile, Edward Rumsey, the successful entrant in the Government House competition, was negotiating with the Commission to prepare the working drawings and superintend construction of the

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[117]See IA, 1, 1865/1813, p. 10.

[118]*Ibid.*, p. 9.

[119]Domett dissented, see *ibid.*, p. 11.

[120]*Ibid.* Presumably in response to the Chief Justice's criticisms the Commission resolved that 'a corridor be placed round the court and the library be enlarged by reducing the adjoining rooms'. See *ibid.*, p. 14.

Government House.[121] Though clearly interested in Rumsey's request for work, the Commission wished to know whether or not he would be prepared to alter his designs and on what terms. Reassured by Rumsey's positive response and a letter from a Dunedin contractor stating that the 18 inch [457 mm] walls Rumsey proposed to build were adequate, the Commission agreed at its meeting of 15 November to engage Rumsey to prepare drawings for the House.[122]

Rumsey had larger ambitions. After receiving the contract for the Government House he asked for an appointment as Architect to the Commission on a salary of £700 a year, at the same time forwarding from Dunedin a new design for a Supreme Court House.[123] The Commissioners, faced (on the one hand) with the task of rectifying Weaver's so-called 'incurable' plans and (on the other) with Rumsey's fresh proposals, decided that they were 'satisfied' with Rumsey's designs and asked him to 'furnish similar sketch designs for the post office and customhouse'. He was also asked to provide a list of the building projects he had superintended.[124] Having received the list, the Commissioners resolved on 9 January 1865 to instruct Rumsey to prepare working drawings and specifications for the Supreme Court House 'on the same terms as those agreed for the Govt House, viz: 2½ per cent upon the amount of the contract'.[125] On 17 February he was

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[121] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[122] *Ibid.*, p. 19. A sub-committee was established to correspond with Rumsey about altering his designs and, on 21 December, the full Committee resolved to instruct Rumsey to prepare working drawings for the Government House in accordance with alterations outlined by the sub-committee. The sub-committee consisted of Whitaker and Domett.

[123] *Ibid.*, p. 12. Rumsey set out his qualifications in a letter dated 20 September 1864 when requesting an appointment. Regrettably, it is not extant.

[124] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[125] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-3.

offered an appointment as Architect to the Commission at a salary of £700 per annum, the appointment being guaranteed for 12 months from 1 March. If after that period had elapsed the buildings had not been erected he was to be given preference for superintendence of their construction, though his appointment could be terminated with three months' notice.[126]

Despite the progress made by the Commissioners, many must have harboured doubts about whether or not they would see any buildings erected. The uncertainty stemmed from proposals to change the site of the capital of the colony. While the Commissioners worked on securing designs, the General Assembly was again debating whether or not Auckland or the more central town of Wellington should be the capital. By 1865 Wellington had been proclaimed the capital and the need for large government buildings in Auckland was being questioned. On 22 February 1865 the Public Buildings Commission was requested not to undertake any further work on the proposed Government House,[127] once viewed as the most important of its projects.

In response to this instruction, the Commissioners set out their case for continuing with construction of Government House. They explained that they had already entered into legally binding arrangements with Rumsey for the forthcoming year (1865-6) and argued that work should proceed because employment was required for the large number of migrants arriving in the colony. Building materials could now, they added, be purchased 'on reasonable terms'.[128] Although the General Assembly did not agree to the construction of a

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[126] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[127] *Ibid.*

[128] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

new Government House in Auckland, a re-constituted Commission[129] was allowed to pursue erection of the Supreme Court House and Customs House and Post Office to Rumsey's designs.

Rumsey's appointment was thus confirmed, architects of the calibre of William Barnett Armson (1832/3?-83),[130] Charles Robert Swyer[131] and Peter Kerr (1820-1912)[132] having already attested to his abilities. His engagement was critical to the success of the building programme and he soon became virtually synonymous with Auckland's public buildings programme. As the Commissioners doubtless realised, Rumsey's background and architectural training augured well.

Born in 1824[133] in Buckinghamshire to Nathaniel Rumsey[134] (a surgeon) and his wife, Lavinia, many in his family had a professional

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[129]When the capital was shifted from Auckland to Wellington Messrs. Domett, Gisborne, Knight and Daldy shifted to Wellington and Martyn and Newman resigned. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1865, D.-4, p. 21. The reconstituted Commission comprised Gilfillan, Whitaker, Graham and Swainson. See M. Abbas & V. Lal, 'Auckland Supreme Court Report', unpublished research report, School of Architecture, University of Auckland, 1974.

[130]On William Barnett Armson see Ian J. Lochhead & Jonathan Mané (eds.), *W. B. Armson: A Colonial Architect Rediscovered* (Exhibition Catalogue), Christchurch, 1983; Jonathan Mané, 'A Colonial Architect Rediscovered, William Barnett Armson 1834-1883', *Historic Places in New Zealand*, no. 3, December 1983, pp. 18-9; J. N. Mané, 'Lost and Found, The Architecture of W. B. Armson', *Art New Zealand*, 29, Summer 1983, pp. 54-7 & J. N. Mane-Wheoki, 'Armson, William Barnett 1832/3?-1883', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume Two: 1870-1900* (Claudia Orange, gen. ed.), Wellington, 1993, pp. 11-2.

[131]On Charles R. Swyer see OP, 7, 2457 & R. D. J. Collins, 'Province's Architectural Engineer With One Monument to His Name', *Otago Daily Times*, 22 January 1985, p. 4 & the fully-referenced typescript of this article, School of Fine Arts Reference Room, University of Canterbury.

[132]On Kerr see George Tibbits, 'Kerr, Peter (1820-1912)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Volume 5: 1851-1890*, (Douglas Pike, gen. ed.), Carlton, Victoria, 1974, pp. 22-3 & Donald Watson & Judith McKay, *Queensland Architects of the 19th Century: A Biographical Dictionary* [Brisbane], 1994, p. 109. See also Hardwicke Knight & Niel Wales, *Buildings of Dunedin: An Illustrated Architectural Guide to New Zealand's Victorian City*, Dunedin, 1988, p. 123. While in New Zealand Kerr prepared plans for adapting Edinburgh House (1865, demolished 1983) for use as Provincial Council Chambers and Offices. See OP, 1, 19, 56, sep. 20.

[133]There is no civil registration of Rumsey's birth. According to Rumsey's death certificate he was 85 years and 8 months old on his death on 11 September 1909. (Death Certificate, Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Sydney.) He was of 'full age' when he married Octavia Yockney

interest in medicine.[135] It was, nevertheless, probably via family connections that Rumsey embarked on a career as an architect. In 1834 one of the Rumsey family, Henry Rumsey, commissioned a house in Chesham from George Gilbert Scott,[136] the architect under whom Rumsey trained in the 1840s.[137]

Scott, in partnership with William Bonyton Moffat between 1838 and 1846, was in the 1840s establishing a career in parish church design, 'the wave of poor law institution building' with which he set up in practice in 1835 having ended.[138] His third-placed entry for St Nicholas, Hamburg (1845-80) established his reputation

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at St. Pancras on 1 August 1848. (Marriage Certificate, General Register Office, London.)

[134]Nathaniel Rumsey (d. 1847), a fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, practised at 'Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire, and then at Henley-on-Thames'. For a brief biography see Plarr's *Lives of the Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons of England* (Sir D'Arcy Power, revised), vol. II, London, 1930, p. 254.

[135]Nathaniel's older brother James was also a surgeon (see *ibid.*) and Edward may likewise have had at least one older brother who was a doctor - a John Crook Rumsey (M.R.C.S. 1835, L.S.A. 1833) was practising in Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire, in the late 1840s. (Edward Rumsey's mother's maiden name was Crook.) John Crook Rumsey is listed in *Pigot & Co.s National and Commercial Directory and Topography of the Counties of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Oxfordshire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire*, London, June 1844, p. 8. See also *The London and Provincial Medical Directory*, London, 1847, p. 241 & *The London and Provincial Medical Directory*, London, 1851, p. 482.

[136]On this house see Cole, p. 6 & plate 2.

[137]Rumsey gave his address as 'C/o Mr Scott - 20 Spring Gardens' while studying at University College, London, in the early 1840s. (Information supplied by Records Office, University College, London, 27 June 1995.) He is also said to have been a pupil of Mr Gilbert Scott in the *New Zealand Herald* in an article (27 February 1865, p. 5) based on information supplied by Sampson Kempthorne, Secretary to the Public Buildings Commission, who was himself briefly associated with Scott in the 1830s. In addition, Rumsey is listed as a pupil of G. G. Scott Snr. in Joanna Heseltine (ed.), *Catalogue of the Drawings of the Royal Institute of British Architects: The Scott Family*, Amersham, Bucks., 1981, p. 15. On Rumsey's association with Scott see also Cole, pp. 34, 189 & 234; Stacpoole, *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand*, p. 117; John Fields & John Stacpoole, *Victorian Auckland*, Dunedin, 1973, caption to plates 6 & 7 & John Stacpoole & Peter Beaven, *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970*, Wellington, 1972, p. 27.

[138]See Mosette Glaser Broderick, 'Scott, George Gilbert', *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects* (Adolf K. Placzek, ed.-in-chief), vol. 4, New York, 1982, p. 13.

internationally in the 1840s. However, his major secular projects, such as his prize winning but unbuilt design for the Hamburg Town Hall (1855); the Home and Foreign Offices, Whitehall, London (1868-72, with Matthew Digby Wyatt); Midland Hotel, St Pancras Station, London (1868-73), and the Albert Memorial, Kensington, London (1863-72), still lay some years off. Despite leaving Scott's office before these buildings were designed, Rumsey would have had no difficulty keeping abreast of the evolution of his well-known master's secular (and ecclesiastical) work through publications such as the *Builder* and the *Building News*.

As one of Scott's pupils Rumsey subscribed to the belief in the suitability of the Gothic style for secular works, a view Scott outlined in his *Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture* (1858). While working for Scott, Rumsey would have met both George Edmund Street (1824-81) and George Frederick Bodley (1827-1907), two of the notable Gothic Revivalists working in Scott's office who, like Rumsey, reached maturity when the archaeological phase of the Gothic Revival was being superseded by an interest in a freer, more individual treatment of Gothic forms.

In addition to working in Scott's office, Rumsey took advantage of the opportunities for formal, part-time architectural training becoming available in London in the 1840s. He was enrolled in a drawing course at University College, London, in 1841-2, and in the College's newly-established architecture course in 1842-3, then taught by Professor T. L. Donaldson.[139] On Scott's recommendation,

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[139]On this course see Mark Crinson & Jules Lubbock, *Architecture: Art or Profession? Three Hundred years of Architectural Education in Britain*, Manchester, 1994, pp. 49-50.

Rumsey entered the Royal Academy Schools in 1843,[140] where he won the Royal Academy medal in 1847 with a design for a Cathedral.[141] In short, the architect of Auckland's Supreme Court House and Post Office and Customs House was one of many well-trained and promising English architects to emerge from Scott's large and productive office.[142]

At first, however, Rumsey found life in the colonies difficult. From about 1854, he was (as he described it in 1867) 'grovel[ling] in the back slums of Australia and New Zealand, where wooden shantees and native huts are considered works of art, and a brick building is a gem'.[143] He had been 'knocked about from place to place in an unmerciful manner, up one year, down the next and scrambling for an existence the third'.[144] Although he was making a comfortable living in Melbourne, mainly doing 'valuations, surveys, &c.',[145] he lost money and business as a result of the collapse of a savings bank in

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[140]Reynolds, 'The Evolution of the Government Architect's Branch of the New South Wales Department of Public Works 1788-1911', Ph.D. thesis, p. 284.

[141]See *Builder*, 18 December 1847, p. 607; Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work, From its Foundation in 1769 to 1904*, vol. VI, London, 1906, p. 387 (contained in vol. 3, 1970 reprint) & Reynolds, p. 284. Rumsey also exhibited these designs at the 1865 Dunedin Industrial Exhibition. See *New Zealand Exhibition, 1865: Reports and Awards of the Jurors and Appendix*, Dunedin, 1866, pp. 499 & 515.

[142]In 1850 H. Simmons and Rumsey exhibited a design for Subscription Baths, Wolverhampton, at the Royal Academy of Arts. See Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their Work From its Foundation in 1769 to 1904*, vol. VII (vol. 4, 1970 reprint), London, 1906, p. 126.

[143]'An Architect at the Antipodes', *Builder*, 30 March 1867, pp. 228-9, being an extract of a letter from an anonymous architect in the antipodes. The details of the career outlined in the letter so closely correspond with Rumsey's that he must be its author.

[144]'An Architect at the Antipodes', *Builder*, 30 March 1867, pp. 228-9.

[145]*Ibid.*, p. 228. Miles Lewis' Architectural Index includes the following references to Rumsey: Tender Notice - Corn Store & 3 shops in Flemington (*Argus*, 7 January 1888, p. 7); Tender Notice - new branch offices for Provident Institute of Victoria (*Argus*, 24 May 1858, p. 7): Candidate for design of Baths (*Australasian Builders and Contractors' News*, 26 March 1859, p. 7).

which he was a shareholder, and for which he was working as a surveyor.[146] He had earlier won first prize for internal arrangements for the new Melbourne Post Office[147] but rather than 'stop in Melbourne and starve'[148] he accepted a position as a draughtsman for the Provincial Government of Otago.[149] Working in the Otago Provincial Engineer's office from 1863, he reported to William Armson (also an immigrant from Melbourne) who in turn reported to the Provincial Engineer, Charles Swyer (Armson's erstwhile Melbourne employer).

In addition to winning the architectural competition for the design of the Government House, Rumsey entered and won architectural competitions for the Lunatic Asylum for the Otago Province (designed 1863, but not built)[150] and, with A. A. Jackson, for St Luke's Anglican Church, Oamaru (1865), Armson supervising construction of the first three bays and north aisle.[151] It was, however, through his competition entry for Government House that he 'tumbled into all

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[146]As a result of the collapse of the bank he was regarded as 'a swindler'. See 'An Architect at the Antipodes', *Builder*, 30 March 1867, p. 229.

[147]*Australasian Builders and Contractors News*, 5 February 1859. Reference from Miles Lewis' Architectural Index. See also OP, 7, 1572, Swyer to Provincial Secretary, January 1863.

[148]'An Architect at the Antipodes', *Builder*, 30 March 1867, p. 229.

[149]See *ibid.*, viz: 'Hearing of an appointment in the Public Works at —, I thought it better to take it, although it was only 300 *l.* a year'. Compare with OP, 7, 1572, Swyer to Provincial Secretary, 23 January 1863, recommending that Mr. E. Rumsey, 'a first-class architect', be engaged at a rate of £300.

[150]See *Otago Daily Times*, 5 September 1863, p. 4. An asylum, Seacliff, begun in 1877, was instead built to designs by R. A. Lawson. See J. N. Mane-Wheoki, 'From the "Athens of the North" to the "Edinburgh of the South": The Architecture of Robert Arthur Lawson', *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, vol. 13, 1992, pp. 12-3.

[151]See Lochhead & Mané (eds.), *W. B. Armson: A Colonial Architect Rediscovered*, p. 9 & 25 (catalogue entry 3), W. R. F. Naylor, *Anglican Centenary: A Narrative Covering 100 Years of the Church of England in North Otago* [Oamaru], 1962, pp. 19-20 & [J. K. Collins] *A Century of Architecture*, Christchurch, 1965, pp. 8 & 23.

the good buildings of any importance [in Auckland] at a good salary',[152] and for which he is best known in New Zealand.

Tenders were first called for construction of the Supreme Court House in February 1865.[153] All were higher than anticipated and the Commissioners therefore called separate tenders for various parts of the work. A tender for the superstructure submitted by the Melbourne firm, Amos and Taylor, was accepted in August[154] and preparations for construction of the foundations were begun in October 1865.[155] The foundation stone was laid on 9 November that year.[156] Two years later tenders were called for completing the building (won by Matthews and Bartley) and for internal fittings (won by W. H. Skinner).[157] The building was used for the first time on 5 February 1868,[158] the first criminal sessions being held on 2 March that year.[159]

Rumsey's floor plans were doubtless considered an improvement
35. on Weaver's 'incurable' ones. The courtroom is at the centre of the building. An ante-hall and corridors separate it from perimeter rooms, creating a central circle, or core, of communication. The plan would therefore have found favour with the Chief Justice who had

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[152] 'An Architect at the Antipodes', *Builder*, 30 March 1867, p. 229.

[153] *Daily Southern Cross*, 11 February 1865, p. 1.

[154] *Ibid.*, 7 August 1865, p. 5.

[155] *Ibid.*, 20 October 1865, p. 4.

[156] *Ibid.*, 10 November 1865, pp. 5-6.

[157] For a detailed account of the construction of the building see Enid Evans, 'The Supreme Court House, Auckland', *The Records of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust*, vol. 1, no. 1, July 1976, pp. 17-22.

[158] *Daily Southern Cross*, 6 February 1868, p. 3.

[159] *Ibid.*, 3 March 1868, p. 2.

earlier criticised Weaver's plan because it did not have a corridor surrounding the courtroom.[160] Although most of the rooms are fitted within a rectangular plan, the entrance porch and stairs to the library (housed within an octagonal turret)[161] break forward from the rectangle, expressing the individual functions of those parts of the building.

There is, nevertheless, a high degree of symmetry to the
36. design, an echo of Scott's practice of 'imposing symmetry, heavy cornices and endless repetition of arches' in his secular Gothic works.[162] Unlike Scott, however, Rumsey is interested in the expression of sculptural qualities and the 'muscular' strength of the Gothic forms he uses. The building therefore owes a debt to Scott while also revealing Rumsey's own individual approach towards design in the Gothic style.

According to a description of Rumsey's building provided to the popular press by Kempthorne, the architectural style was 'the Decorated Gothic, a style of architecture that prevailed in England about the reigns of Edward I and II' (1272-1307, 1307-27).[163] In spite of Kempthorne's claims, Rumsey's design, while eclectic, is mainly Early English and French Gothic in style. It is the bold, simple and 'muscular' forms of the military Gothic of English Castles,[164] and Early French Gothic, which ultimately interested

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[160]IA, 1, 1865/1813, p. 14.

[161]*Builder*, 9 March 1867, p. 170.

[162]Stefan Muthesius, *The High Victorian Movement in Architecture 1850-1870*, London, 1972, p. 172.

[163]*New Zealand Herald*, 27 February 1865, p. 4. Also quoted, in part, in Terence Hodgson, *The Heart of Colonial Auckland 1865-1910*, Auckland, 1992, p. 78.

[164]There is, as Stacpoole and Beaven imply, little evidence that the style is directly influenced by Warwick Castle, a claim made in notes entitled 'Unique Supreme Court: Historic Auckland Building, Quaint Carvings by Young

Rumsey. Such forms neatly satisfied the Commissioner's requirement that architects achieve their effects 'more by boldness and character of outline, than by expenditure on ornamental detail' - a requirement, shaped by financial constraints, which captured the stylistic concerns of architects of Rumsey's generation such as William Burges (1827-81), Edwin William Godwin (1833-86) and Street.

In fact, the principal facade of Rumsey's building with its massive central tower recalls Godwin's Northampton (1861) and Congleton Town Halls (1864), though the similarities may be no more than fortuitous. Rumsey's design for the tower of Auckland's Supreme Court House underwent many changes between preparation of the original design in 1864 and completion of the building in 1868. The first published account of the tower describes 'four gables, from which springs a finely proportioned leaden spire'[165] and notes that 'In each gable there is to be a inserted a clock-face, which may be
37. seen from all parts of the city.[166] In a perspective of the building created in 1866 and published in the *Builder* in March 1867,[167] the tower has a parapet instead of gables and 'a leaden [pavilion] roof with dormer'[168] rather than a 'finely proportioned leaden spire'.

German' (Sheppard Collection file on Rumsey, School of Architecture, Library, University of Auckland) and dismissed in Stacpoole & Beaven, *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970*, p. 27. On Warwick Castle see Nikolaus Pevsner & Alexandra Wedgwood, *The Buildings of England: Warwickshire*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1974, pp. 452-6, plate 21 & on the late fourteenth century work at Warwick Castle (notably Caesar's Tower and Guy's Tower), R. Allen Brown, *English Castles*, London, 1976 edition, pp. 148, 149-50. The claim that the Auckland Supreme Court House is 'suggestive of Warwick Castle' is repeated in Geoffrey Charles Buckley, *Of Toffs and Toilers: From Cornwall to New Zealand: Fragments of the Past*, Auckland, 1983, p. 172.

[165]*New Zealand Herald*, 27 February 1865, p. 4. For a very similar description see *Daily Southern Cross*, 7 August 1865, p. 5.

[166]*New Zealand Herald*, 27 February 1865, p. 4.

[167]Based on a watercolour by Rumsey, a photograph of which is held by the Auckland Institute and Museum & reproduced in Stacpoole and Beaven, *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970*, p. 27.

[168]*Builder*, 9 March 1867, p. 170.

There are no clock faces. As completed in 1868 the only termination to the tower visible from ground level is a crenellated parapet. Although the construction of spires for the tower and stair turrets was mooted in 1874,[169] they were never built.[170]

On one level, the changes to the design of the tower reveal little more than the imposition of further financial constraints. The clock proposed for the tower was never purchased and the money required to build the leaden spires and roof was never appropriated. Rumsey simply created a number of variants of his design to suit the changing circumstances of the commission. On another level, the changes attest to his skill in manipulating Gothic forms; all his designs reveal that, despite working 'in the back slums of Australia and New Zealand,' he remained well abreast of British architectural fashion. Rumsey's plans were finalised by October 1866, before he could have seen the competition entries for the Royal Courts of Justice, London, with which his designs invite comparison.[171] A perspective of Rumsey's Supreme Court House even appeared in the

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[169] *Daily Southern Cross*, 14 October 1874, p. 3.

[170] On later additions to the building see D. A. Pearson, 'A Conservation Plan for the High Court Building, Auckland', Auckland, June 1988, pp. 12-4. The most significant was the law library built in 1935-6. This was demolished in the late 1980s and Rumsey's original court building (minus one northern bay) incorporated into a larger court complex. For an appraisal of these alterations and additions see Nerida Campbell, 'Courthouse Composition: Appraisal', *Architecture New Zealand*, July/August 1991, pp. 33-6 & Carl Thomas, 'Courthouse Composition: Architect's Statement', *Architecture New Zealand*, July/August 1991, pp. 36-8.

[171] Although doubtless interested to see Scott's design, on the evidence of his own modest colonial court house, Rumsey would have been even more enthusiastic about William Burges' highly acclaimed entry. On the Royal Courts of Justice, London, competition designs see J. Summerson, *Victorian Architecture: Four Studies in Evaluation*, New York, 1970, chapter IV, pp. 77-126; David B. Brownlee, *The Law Courts: The Architecture of George Edmund Street*, New York, 1984, pp. 106-11 & J. Mordaunt Crook, *William Burges and the High Victorian Dream*, Chicago, 1981, pp. 246-52.

Builder some weeks before the Law Courts Competition entry created by his former master, Scott.[172]

Within New Zealand, the Auckland Supreme Court House represented a marked advance on the rudimentary structures which first housed new government institutions in the colony, such as Wood's Parliament House, immediately to the north of Rumsey's building. Its erection was also a decisive victory for those who promoted the principles of honest construction and picturesque utility in preference to erection of symmetrical 'shams' such as Mason's nearby Government House.

Different in kind from Mason's work, the closest parallels with other colonial New Zealand works can be drawn with Mountfort's buildings. In the buttressing of the Council Chamber (1864-65) of the Canterbury Provincial Government Buildings, for example, Mountfort created the impression of the rock-like strength of the heavy buttressing Rumsey employed in his design for the Supreme Court House. The Council Chamber is, however, a Provincial not General Government building and is part of a larger complex of stone and timber Gothic Revival buildings of very different character from Rumsey's Supreme Court House.

Yet despite the differences between these works, Rumsey and Mountfort shared a commitment to the idea that the 'native historical architecture [of England] should have a prominent place accorded to it' in New Zealand. In Rumsey's Supreme Court House this nationalist sentiment is expressed both in the choice of architectural style and in sculptural decoration by Anton Teutenberg (1840-1933).[173]

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[172]A perspective of Scott's design was published in the *Builder*, 30 March 1867, p. 225.

[173]On Teutenberg see J. B. Duncan, 'Teutenberg, Ferdinand Anton Nicolaus 1840-1933', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume Two: 1870-1900*

Teutenberg's carvings, in particular, are distinctly 'of New Zealand'.

A German immigrant, Teutenberg had trained as an engraver rather than a sculptor, but Rumsey was sufficiently impressed by his work to commission him to produce carvings for the Supreme Court House.[174] The first examples, based on Rumsey's drawings, were created for the building's main entrance. They depict the Duke and Duchess of Kent, Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, Lord Chief Justice Campbell and Lord Westbury, a former Lord Chancellor.[175] Rumsey later gave Teutenberg a free hand to create carvings to his own designs and by the time the Supreme Court was completed Teutenberg had created over twenty label-stops depicting various imperial and colonial dignitaries, more than thirty gargoyles and woodcarving for the interior of the building.

The inclusion of figurative sculpture as an integral part of the Court House was unprecedented in General Government architecture in New Zealand and rare in the European architecture of the colony as a whole.[176] In England the integration of figurative sculpture and

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(Claudia Orange, gen. ed.), Wellington, 1993, pp. 534-5 and Leonard Bell, 'German-speaking Artists in New Zealand', *The German Connection: New Zealand and German-Speaking Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (James N. Bade, ed.), Auckland, 1993, pp. 112-3.

[174]The Captain of the vessel on which Teutenberg sailed to New Zealand is said to have shown Teutenberg's carvings to the contractors for the Supreme Court House, Amos and Taylor, who asked him create some carvings for the building. See *New Zealand Herald*, 4 October 1933. Ultimately, the commission would have come from Rumsey who was superintending construction of the building.

[175]Enid Evans, 'The Supreme Court House, Auckland', *Records of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust*, p. 20. See also Enid Evans, 'The Supreme Court House, Auckland', *Historic Buildings of New Zealand, North Island*, Auckland, 1983 ed., p. 107.

[176]There are, however, parallels with the corbels and capitals of the Canterbury Provincial Council Chamber (1865) carved by William Brassington which depict, among others, Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, Florence Nightingale, General Gordon and Lord Salisbury. See Michael Dunn, 'Dependant Taste: Sculpture in New Zealand', M.A. Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1974, vol. 1, pp. 14-6.

architecture was, however, being championed by John Ruskin who looked forward to the day when the carving of 'appropriate' portraits on English buildings was common practice. As Ruskin expressed it

> as soon as we possess a body of sculptors able, and willing, and having leave from the English public, to carve on the façades of our cathedrals portraits of the living bishops, deans, canons, and choristers, who are to minister in the said cathedrals; and on the façades of our public buildings, portraits of the men chiefly moving or acting in the same; and on our buildings, generally, the birds and flowers which are singing and budding in the fields around them, we shall have a school of English architecture. Not till then.[177]

By incorporating label-stops depicting important figures in colonial New Zealand, Rumsey and Teutenberg were thus taking the first steps in creating an immediately recognisable New Zealand government architecture within the context of the nationalist aspirations of the Gothic Revival articulated by Ruskin; all the figures Teutenberg depicted are part of a wider iconographic programme expressive of Crown government (symbolised by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert) and the imposition of law and order in New Zealand.

The design and iconography of Rumsey's Post Office and Customs House is similar to that of the Court House, contributing (as the Commissioners had hoped) to the establishment of a unified approach towards government architecture in Auckland. Its construction was virtually contemporaneous with the Supreme Court
38. House. Tenders for erecting the Post Office Customs House were called in August 1865[178] and for fittings in April 1868.[179] Construction was finished by August 1868 when post office business

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[177]E. T. Cook & Alexander Wedderburn (eds.), *The Works of John Ruskin*, London, 1903, vol. III, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 'Preface to the Second [1855] Edition', §7, pp. 11-2.

[178]*Daily Southern Cross*, 4 August 1865, p. 1.

transferred to the new building.[180] Built on the site of the former timber customs house, it (like the Supreme Court House) was one of a new generation of governmental buildings erected in 'permanent' materials. Unlike the Court House, however, it does not survive; gutted by fire in 1872[181] it was refitted for reuse to a revised design, after Rumsey had left New Zealand,[182] and was demolished in the 1930s.

Its principal facade, on Shortland Street, was to have a tower at the east end. Designed to house the main staircase 'leading to the first floor',[183] it was also to have an 'ornamental clock turret, with faces on four sides, surmounted by an octagon lantern and spire rising to the height of 120 feet [36.6 m]'.[184] Although the upper stages of the tower were never built, their completion (and construction of a time-ball) was mooted in 1874.[185] If they had been completed, the tower would doubtless have resembled that of the Court House.

Despite the restrictions imposed by the site, Rumsey succeeded in his Post Office and Customs House in creating the impression of the massive, sculptural forms that characterise the Supreme Court House. By setting the offices further back from the street boundary

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[179] *Ibid.*, 9 April 1868, p. 1.

[180] *Ibid.*, 17 August 1868, p. 3. The Telegraph Department moved into its offices in the Fort Street side of the building in July, see *ibid.*, 1 July 1868, p. 3 & *ibid.*, 7 July 1868, p. 3.

[181] See *ibid.*, 20 November 1872, p. 2.

[182] Bartley & Philcox were awarded the contract for 'restoration' of the building. See *ibid.*, 15 May 1873, p. 2. By 1875 new buildings had been erected and a 'passage run through the building from Shortland to Fort Street, so that for the future a short cut will be secured by the use of the passage'. See *ibid.*, 1 January 1875, p. 2.

[183] *Ibid.*

[184] *Ibid.*, 24 April 1868, p. 2.

[185] *Ibid.*, 14 October 1874, p. 3.

than the base of the proposed tower he created a similar sense of monumentality. Similarly, by recessing the first floor windows into the wall surfaces, a device used in the Supreme Court House, he emphasised the thickness of the wall.

Like the Supreme Court House, the Post Office and Customs House incorporated sculpture by Teutenberg. Again, Teutenberg's carvings depicted important figures in New Zealand's recent European and Maori history.[186] Among those depicted were Queen Victoria,[187] Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Sir George Grey, the Waikato leader and Maori King, Potatau te Wherowhero (?-1860),[188] Ngati Whatua leader Paora Tuhaere (?-1892)[189] and Matire Toha of Nga Puhi.[190]

Though both the Court House and Post Office and Customs House set new standards in General Government architecture in New Zealand, not everyone in the colony commended Rumsey's achievement. The *New Zealand Herald,* observing that Rumsey as 'a follower of Mr Scott' believed that 'the pointed or Gothic is... the chief style worth cultivating',[191] remarked of the Post Office and Customs House that 'Most people will think that there is something too scholastic about

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[186]For a full list of the figurative sculpture retrieved from the Shortland Street facade of the Post Office and Customs House following its demolition see G. M. Fowlds, 'The Teutenberg Carvings: Unique Auckland Architectural Feature', *Manakau Progress*, August 1965. (File on Edward Rumsey, Sheppard Collection, University of Auckland.) Six of the sculptures from the post office were installed in the vestibule of Rumsey's Supreme Court House in 1963.

[187]Disfigured when a vandal broke off the nose, see *Daily Southern Cross*, 23 May 1868, p. 3.

[188]On Potatau te Wherowhero see Steven Oliver, 'Te Wherowhero, Potatau ?-1860', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One: 1769-1869* (W. H. Oliver, gen. ed.), Wellington, 1990, pp. 526-8.

[189]On Paora Tuhaere see Steven Oliver, 'Tuhaere, Paroa ?-1892', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One: 1769-1869* (W. H. Oliver, gen. ed.), Wellington, 1990, pp. 552-3.

[190]*New Zealand Herald*, 28 November 1964.

[191]*Ibid.*, 24 April 1868, p. 2.

the Gothic' and that it should not be 'degraded so as to become the storeroom of merchandize'.[192] Notwithstanding such criticism, typical of Auckland's popular press, Rumsey's advocacy of the Gothic style for all buildings could have resulted in the emergence of a consistent and distinctively New Zealand approach towards government architecture.

A project Rumsey prepared for the Parliamentary Buildings,[193] Wellington, indicates what might have been achieved outside Auckland. In 1866, after Wellington had been proclaimed the capital of New Zealand, Rumsey reported on structural problems with the former Provincial Government Chambers, Wellington (1857)[194] which had been appropriated as Parliamentary Buildings. The following year he was asked to design alterations and additions to the building. Only one plan survives from the project. It depicts a stair turret of similar design to those of the Auckland Supreme Court House,[195] suggesting that there were strong stylistic connections between Rumsey's Parliamentary Buildings project and his Auckland work. Unlike his Auckland buildings, however, the additions to the Parliamentary Buildings were to be built of timber and painted and sanded, a 'sham'

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[192] *Ibid.*

[193] These buildings were known by various names in the nineteenth century - the Government Buildings (see *A.J.H.R.*, 1870, D.-6), Public Buildings (see *ibid.*, 1872, G.-11), Houses of Parliament (see *ibid.*, 1873, H.-4) and the Parliamentary Buildings. They have also been referred to as the General Assembly Buildings (Chris Cochran and Rod Cook, 'Parliamentary Library, Parliament House: Conservation Values' [Wellington], April 1989. In this thesis they are referred to as the Parliamentary Buildings, the name most often used in the nineteenth century.

[194] See IA, 1, 66/1338. On the design of the Wellington Provincial Government Buildings see WP, 7, 6 & *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 11 March 1857, p. 2. On early additions to the building see IA, 1, 1865/1258.

[195] See the plan and elevation of the stair turret to the Reporters Gallery and entrance to the Strangers Gallery in the folio of plans for Parliament Buildings held as W, 15, P.W.D. 15304.

treatment intended to complement the existing Provincial Government Buildings. Unable to leave Auckland under the terms of his appointment to the Public Buildings Commission, Rumsey recommended that William Armson supervise its construction.[196] Although Armson was offered the commission, only part of Rumsey's project was ever built[197] and Rumsey did not undertake any further work for the General Government.

Rather, following completion of his works for the Public Buildings Commission, Rumsey's attention turned first to private practice in New Zealand[198] and then, from 1873, to further work as a government architect in Sydney.[199] From 1 March 1873 until 1893[200] he was employed in the Colonial Architect's Office, New South

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[196]See IA, 1, 67/21 held with IA, 1, 68/364. Armson's appointment was recommended by Rumsey and also by an anonymous hand in a minute that noted that if an alternative architect was employed 'of course he will wish to make his own designs. i.e. the whole thing and what has been done is lost. I know nothing whatever of Mr Armson but think Mr Rumsey may be trusted to recommend a person who will do full justice to his own designs'. See minute on *ibid.*, Rumsey to Colonial Secretary, 27 December 1867.

[197]See *A.J.H.R.*, 1870, D.-6, p. 5, which records that the 'new offices lately erected over Bellamy's form a portion of that [Rumsey's] design'. Armson's supervision of the construction of Rumsey's work echoes the relationship between these two architects in design and construction of St Luke's Anglican Church, Oamaru (1865).

[198]A search of the *New Zealand Herald* 1863-1915 has located the following tender notices under Rumsey's name: Girls' School, Hill Street, Onehunga, September 1865; St Peter's in the Forest, July 1866; Bank of New South Wales, Shortland, April 1868; alterations for J. C. Morrin for the late Bank of New Zealand, August 1868; (in partnership with Farrow) St. George's Church Shortland, July 1869; (with Farrow) School at Orphans Home, Parnell, September 1869; (with Farrow) Bank of Australasia, Albert Street, Grahamstown, September 1869; (with Farrow) Union Bank, Grahamstown, October 1869; (with Farrow) Billiard room, Northern Club, Auckland, September 1869; and Union Bank, Napier, January 1871. (Terence Hodgson's list of tender notices, Wellington.)

[199]Rumsey had moved to Sydney sometime between January 1871 (when he called tenders for the Union Bank, Napier) and March 1873 (when he was working in the Colonial Architect's Office, Sydney). He is first listed in *Sand's Sydney & New South Wales Directory* in 1876 (p. 457).

[200]'Blue Book, New South Wales 1892', p. 126 & 'Blue Book, New South Wales 1893', p. 129. Archives Office of New South Wales, Sydney. Rumsey retired in 1893 'for reasons of retrenchment'. See 5/6156, letter 1893/13821 (Cabinet Minute, 27.11.93), Archives Office of New South Wales, Sydney.

Wales,[201] where he designed some impressive classical court houses - the Balmain Court House and Post Office (1885-8) and the Goulburn Court House (1888),[202] for example. Although Rumsey had considerable freedom in his work in the office,[203] his designs for these court houses and other works conformed and contributed to the predominantly classical office styles of first the then Colonial Architect James Barnet (1827-1904, Colonial Architect, 1862-1890),[204] and later the Government Architect, Walter Liberty Vernon (1846-1914, Government Architect 1890-1911). Thus, while Rumsey found the security of employment in the Colonial Architect's Office in Sydney that eluded him when he first lived in the colonies, he did so at the expense of his commitment to the Gothic style. His Australian works reveal that, like Scott, he was prepared to design in classical styles when circumstances required it of him and it is therefore difficult to speculate with any degree of certainty about how his governmental work might have developed had he remained in New Zealand.

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[201]He held the appointment of clerk of works in 1877 (see Peter Bridges & Don McDonald, *James Barnet, Colonial Architect*, Sydney, 1988, p. 102) and was promoted to Assistant Architect on 1 January 1891. See 'Blue Book, New South Wales, 1892', p. 126, Archives Office of New South Wales, Sydney.

[202]See 'Department of Public Works Board of Enquiry - Minutes of Evidence', *Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly during the Second Session of 1887*, New South Wales, vol. II, 1887, p. 338 and, on other works, pp. 232, 339 & 342. See also on Rumsey's Australian work Reynolds, pp. 291-2 & 331, Peter Bridges, *Historic Court Houses of New South Wales*, Sydney, 1986, pp. 42-3, 46, 67, 71, 73, 77 & 85 & Bridges & McDonald, pp. 101-2 & 108.

[203]He was sufficiently well-known as an architect in his own right for a short obituary to be published in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 September 1909, p. 8. See also Bridges and McDonald, p. 102, where Rumsey is described as 'the most dominant of the architectural designers under Barnet' and is said to have been known 'as the 'engineer of the establishment' because of his special skills'.

[204]Bridges and McDonald, p. 55, viz: Barnet encouraged the able designers in his office (such as Rumsey) and worked 'closely with them at the drawing board' so that they 'produced buildings which belonged to a recognisable pattern, the Colonial Architect's Office style'.

iii. The Dunedin Post Office (1865-8)

The General Government's involvement in architectural work in the provinces during the period 1853-68 was limited and always secondary to its work in Auckland. The central administration nevertheless retained an interest in ensuring that suitable accommodation was provided for those departments which remained in its control in the provinces, especially the post office and customs departments. Sometimes it was prepared to provide loans for construction of buildings but it expected provincial officers or contractors to be responsible for design and construction.[205]

In Otago, however, the General Government took a more active interest in the design of one of the largest government buildings erected in the period 1853-68, the Dunedin Post Office (1865-8, demolished 1969), subsequently used and more commonly referred to as a Stock Exchange. Erection of the building was first proposed as part of a larger programme of construction of government buildings devised by the General Government to ensure that its departments had adequate accommodation in Dunedin.

As early as 26 March 1862 Henry Sewell recommended to Provincial administrators that they budget for construction of a Supreme court, gaol, post office, [and] registry office'[206] for Dunedin, suggesting that they distribute the cost of the buildings over a number of years. Accordingly, in January 1863, the Otago

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[205]In New Plymouth, for example, the General Assembly agreed under the Public Reserves Act, 1854, to grant to the province the site of the existing court house and gaol in Devon Street (and part of the Mt Elliott Reserve fronting Brougham Street) and to provide a loan of £2,000 for the construction of new buildings. Having provided the funds, it left provincial administrators to themselves organise the design and construction of the buildings. See TP, 4, 7, letter 17 , 29 March 1859.

[206]See OP, 1, 9, item 59, Sewell to Superintendent of Otago Province, 26 March 1862.

Provincial Government arranged a competition for architectural designs for a gaol, hospital and lunatic asylum,[207] though no arrangements were made for construction of a building for the post office, a government department in General Government control. As a result, Sewell threatened that unless the Provincial Government provide for construction of a post office via a loan, the General Assembly would sanction the expenditure as a charge against provincial revenue.[208] Faced with this ultimatum, the province had no choice but to proceed with construction of a post office building.[209]

The General Government took the leading role in securing designs for the building. Anxious that work begin quickly, Reader Wood (the then Colonial Treasurer and Commissioner of Customs) consulted Mason (then Member of the House of Representatives for the Pensioner settlements) who prepared designs for the building. In November 1863 Wood further forced the province's hand, sending Mason's designs to the Superintendent of Otago with a brief letter recommending that he sanction the cost of the proposed building, approve the plans when complete[210] and engage Mason to superintend construction.[211]

In March 1864 the Otago Provincial Government called tenders (in New Zealand, New South Wales and Victoria) for the erection of a

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[207]See *Auckland Provincial Gazette*, 8 January 1863, p. 3. On the competition see also OP, 7/615.

[208]See OP, 1, 18, item 37.

[209]*Ibid.*

[210]*Ibid.*

[211]*Ibid.*

post office to Mason's designs.[212] When they were found to exceed the amount the Provincial Government was prepared to spend on the building (£20,000) it requested Mason to prepare alternative designs which could be built for that amount.[213] Nevertheless, on 12 August 1864 a tender was accepted from Dalrymple and Co., Melbourne, for £22,960,[214] presumably to the revised designs, despite being in excess of the amount originally allowed for the building.

Although the Provincial Government had co-operated with the General Government thus far, resentment was mounting over the role national politicians and officials had assumed in organising construction of the building. On 28 September 1864 provincial officials informed their General Government counterparts that since the General Government had determined that the contract for the post office should be conducted by architects[215] they had appointed, and since 'joint action was likely to lead to unsatisfactory results', the province would not accept 'control or responsibility for the due performance of the contract'.[216] Unbeknown to the General Government, the Provincial Government also commissioned the architect, David Ross (1827-1908), to prepare plans for a post office, plans which Ross later claimed were for a larger building than Mason's.[217] Ross' project was never presented to General

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[212] *Otago Provincial Government Gazette*, 16 March 1864, p. 91. Plans could be seen at the office of Mason and Clayton, and in Melbourne and Sydney. See also OP, 7/3252.

[213] OP, 1, 24, 10, 24 May 1864.

[214] *Ibid.*, 12 August 1864. There were some problems with Dalrymple's sub-contractors wishing to withdraw their tenders, see *ibid.*, 19 August 1864.

[215] In February 1864 Mason had gone into partnership with William Henry Clayton. See Stacpoole, *William Mason: The First New Zealand Architect*, p. 82.

[216] OP, 1, 24, 10, 28 September 1864.

[217] OP, 1, 27, 15. Memorial of David Ross, 17 May 1867 re. non-payment by Provincial Government for work designing Post Office.

Government officials; the construction of Mason's building had been written off by many in Otago as a General Government project.

Mason's post office was, in many ways, as unusual as the circumstances which led to its construction, though some models for the building suggest themselves. The floor plans were conventional; a large central hall, fitted out as the public office, formed the central core of the building with offices located around it - an arrangement which resembles both that of Victorian town halls (such as Cuthbert Broderick's Leeds Town Hall (1853-8)) and Rumsey's Gothic Supreme Court House, though without a corridor around the central 'core'.[218] The elevations recall those of classical Victorian town halls in Britain with centrally-located clock towers such as G. T. Robinson's Burslem Town Hall (1852-7) and Leeds Town Hall.

Mason's eclectic and undeniably clumsy design was, however,
39. largely the product of his own imagination. He had been advised to create a design 'after the style' of Sir Robert Smirke's Greek Revival General Post office, St. Martin's-le-Grand (1823-8, demolished 1912)[219] but, as his designs reveal, he emphatically rejected Smirke's building as a model. While James Rochfort[220] considered the comparatively chaste forms of the 'simplest orders'
40. appropriate for the contemporaneous Nelson Post Office (1864),[221]

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[218]The ground floor plan of the former Post office is reproduced in Stacpoole, *William Mason, The First New Zealand Architect*, plate 65; the plan of Leeds Town Hall is reproduced in J. Mordaunt Crook, *Victorian Architecture: A Visual Anthology*, New York, 1971, illustration 89.

[219]According to Mason's one-time partner, N. Y. A. Wales. See N. Y. A. Wales, 'Architecture of Dunedin', *Picturesque Dunedin and its Neighbourhood in 1890* (Alex Bathgate, ed.), Dunedin, 1890, p. 133.

[220]On Rochfort (1840-1924) see Furkert, p. 254. Although Rochfort worked almost entirely as an engineer in New Zealand, he is said to have trained as an architect.

[221]On the Nelson Post Office building see NP, 7, 64/22, Jas. Rochfort to Superintendent [?] of Nelson Province, 12 January 1864. Rochfort states 'I have endeavoured to keep the building as plain as possible to avoid expense at the same time it seemed necessary to give it some architectural feature

they had little appeal for Mason when presented with a commission for as large and prestigious a building as the Dunedin Post Office. The style of architecture of the Dunedin Post Office, observed the *Otago Daily Times,* is 'the Palladian, combining features of the Italian with the Grecian, and admitting of very free decoration',[222] a description which - if provided by Mason - further illustrates an eclectic and idiosyncratic approach.

Whatever Mason's specific sources of inspiration, the commission for the Dunedin Post Office presented him with the opportunity to indulge a taste for rich ornamentation not evident in his earlier governmental works such as the Government House, Auckland. For the most part he realised his original plans for the building, despite being required to reduce costs. A description of the more elaborate plans for which tenders were first called corresponds in almost every detail with the building as erected, though the tower was to be even more elaborate. The *Otago Daily Times* reported that the upper stage was to have 'caryatides clustered at each angle' supporting an entablature above which was to be a clock 'surrounded by a profusion of naturally-treated foliage', capped by a bell turret with louvre windows and a vane 'as a finial'.[223]

The richness of the ornamentation testifies to the ease of working the newly-discovered Oamaru stone of which the building was

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as when erected on the proposed site this building will strike the eye of every person entering Nelson from the Harbour. The style I have chosen is Tuscan the simplest of the Roman orders'. Tenders were opened 12 February 1864 (see NP, 7, 64/109 & 110); the post master advised that he had moved into the new post office on 15 November 1864. See NP, 7, 64/826 & also AAMF 6101, Acc. 3327.

[222] *Otago Daily Times,* 21 March 1864, p. 5.

[223] *Ibid.*

constructed.[224] Convinced of the importance of erecting the building of stone quarried in the province, the Provincial Government had, at Mason's suggestion, called for specimens of stone which could be used for building purposes.[225] Echoing Mountfort's intention that his Auckland Government House project should be expressive of the 'industrial powers' of the provinces, Oamaru stone from the Kakanui Range was subsequently used for construction of the building. It was with some considerable personal satisfaction that Mason, serving as Mayor of Dunedin in 1867, showed the Governor, Sir George Grey, and his personal assistant, Frederick Thatcher, how easily the stone could be worked in the construction of the Post Office, when they toured the city in February that year.[226]

Although construction of the building, completed in 1868, was contemporaneous with the General and Auckland Supreme Court House, and Post Office and Customs House, the Dunedin and Auckland buildings have little in common. The Public Buildings Commission had requested copies of the plans of the proposed Dunedin Post Office when considering Rumsey's designs for the Auckland Post Office and Customs House but were little influenced by them. Rumsey's more up-to-date Gothic designs were preferred.

There are somewhat closer parallels between the Dunedin Post Office and contemporaneous post offices erected in the Australian colonies which, like the Dunedin building, ultimately recall

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[224]Oamaru stone is a New Zealand limestone. See W. N. Blair, *The Building Materials of Otago and South New Zealand Generally*, Dunedin, 1879, pp. 33-44.

[225]On discovery and testing of the stone see the precis of OP, 7, 2332, in OP, 9, 2. On the ease with which the stone could be worked see Stacpoole, *William Mason: The First New Zealand Architect*, p. 93.

[226]*Ibid.*

Renaissance palazzi. As many architects in New Zealand would have known, the first stage of A. E. Johnson's two-storey classical post office 'with a low tower' was rising in Melbourne (1859-67, later stages 1885-90, 1906-7)[227] when plans for the Dunedin Post Office were being prepared. Also, although probably unbeknown to Mason, preliminary designs were, in 1862, presented by James Barnet for the new Sydney General Post Office. Construction of the first stage of that building was begun in 1866 (while construction of the Dunedin Post Office was under way) and was completed in 1874, although the building as a whole was not completed until 1891.[228]

Parallels with Australian post offices should not be overdrawn, however. Mason's Post Office was highly idiosyncratic and was never used as such. Even before its completion the Provincial Government had decided that the building was too large to serve as a post office. Intending to negotiate with the General Government for use of the building as provincial government offices, it again engaged David Ross to prepare plans for a new and smaller post office. Although Ross' building was never constructed, as a result of the negotiations during which his designs were discussed, Mason's 'large and handsome building which had cost about £30,000 was handed over to the province for the small sum of £4,500'.[229] First used 'for a bazaar, a ball and a flower show',[230] Mason's building opened in

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[227]See *The Heritage of Australia: The Illustrated Register of the National Estate*, South Melbourne, 1981, 3/51. The third floor was built in 1885-90.

[228]See Bridges & McDonald, p. 60 & also Cedric Fowler, 'General Post Office, Sydney', *Historic Public Buildings of Australia* (Australian Council of National Trusts, vol. 2 of *Historic Buildings of Australia*), North Melbourne, 1971, pp. 200-9.

[229]See OP, 1, 42, item 33, Memorial from David Ross to Provincial Government officials, 17 November 1870. See also OP, 42, 19, no. 9. and the summary of OP, 7, 9698 in OP, 9, 17.

[230]Stacpoole, *William Mason, The First New Zealand Architect*, p. 85.

October 1868 as a Museum. It then housed the University of Otago (1871-7), the Colonial Bank (1877-1900) and the Stock Exchange (1900-69) before being demolished.[231] Never used as a post office, the building symbolised both the lack of co-operation between the Otago Provincial and General Governments, and the General Government's loss of control over the course of governmental architecture outside the capital city.

iv. The New Zealand Lunatic Asylum Project (1858-9)

In addition to attempting to house departments still in its control, the General Government also considered construction of two buildings, a prison and a lunatic asylum, to meet the requirements for such institutions for the whole of New Zealand. Since, in the period 1853-68, provincial not central government had the dominant role as architect and builder, it is hardly surprising that neither building was erected. The proposal to build a prison for the whole colony did not progress beyond discussion in the parliamentary debating chamber and consideration of a site, though proposals to build a New Zealand lunatic asylum were pursued further.

As early as 1858 the House of Representatives appointed a Select Committee to report on the establishment of an asylum

> for the reception and treatment of persons of unsound mind from every part of the Colony and upon the State of the law with regard to the admission into, and custody of Lunatic Persons in such an Asylum.[232]

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[231] See *ibid.*, pp. 85-86. Dorothy Ballantyne, 'Educational Buildings of Otago', *Historic Buildings of New Zealand*, South Island, (Frances Porter, ed.) Auckland, 1983, p. 171 & Knight & Wales, pp. 173-4.

[232] *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 6 July 1858, p. 95.

The Committee recommended the establishment of an asylum in 'as central a position as possible' in which 'those great improvements that have been effected in Great Britain and other countries, in connection with medical treatment, may be brought into practice'.[233] It also recommended appointment of a Commissioner to appropriate a site which, it said, should be of

> the most equable temperature; sheltered, but with a cheerful aspect, easily accessible by sea; and in a situation which would render a subsequent tedious overland journey unnecessary.

Dr Prendergast, 'of the Army Medical Staff',[234] was subsequently appointed Commissioner and after examining sites around Auckland, Wellington, Nelson and Christchurch,[235] recommended Nelson. A London-based architect, Charles John Shoppee (1823-97),[236] was commissioned to prepare designs for the asylum, presumably at Prendergast's request. Shoppee's designs were forwarded to the colony on 19 December 1859, via the New Zealand Agent, John Morrison.[237]

Shoppee was both an architect and surveyor, having previously worked in the office of the architect, William Railton (1801-77),[238] and a surveyor, Thomas Morris.[239] Architect and Surveyor to the Armourers' and Brasiers' Company (1857-69) and the Barbers' Company

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[233] *Ibid.*

[234] *N.Z.P.D.*, vol. 1, 1867, p. 511.

[235] He reported on sites at Panmure, Onehunga and Orakei (Auckland), Nelson Town, Richmond, Suburban South (Nelson), Heathcote (Christchurch) and Karori (Wellington).

[236] For Shoppee's career see 'Obituary', *Builder*, 27 November 1897, p. 450.

[237] H, 1, 30, Agent for New Zealand to Colonial Secretary, 19 December 1859.

[238] On Railton see Felstead, Franklin & Pinfield (comp.), *Directory of British Architects 1834-1900*, p. 752.

[239] Shoppee's Candidate's Statement, R.I.B.A. Fellows' Nomination Papers.

(from 1862), he was also Deputy Governor of the French Hospital in 1867.[240] By 1880 he had designed the Uxbridge Union Infirmaries.[241] In 1859, when commissioned to design New Zealand's Lunatic Asylum he was, however, a relatively young and unknown architect who had only recently (1851) set up in private practice.

Despite Shoppee's comparative inexperience, the New Zealand Government hoped, through his involvement, to ensure that the latest British ideas about asylum design were employed in New Zealand. Shortly before designing the New Zealand Asylum, Shoppee had been Resident Architect and Principal Clerk of Works at Middlesex County Lunatic Asylum, Colney Hatch (1848-51),[242] a pauper's asylum designed by Samuel Daukes (1811-80). Daukes' building was 'one of the most outwardly grandiose monuments to Victorian philanthropy... proclaimed in superlatives as England's longest... and Europe's most modern asylum'.[243] At Colney Hatch Daukes developed 'the ideas on treatment of the insane pioneered by [Dr] Conolly at Middlesex's other asylum at Hanwell'.[244] Central to those ideas, outlined by Conolly in *The Construction and Government of Lunatic Asylums* (1847), was the notion of the lunatic asylum as a therapeutic community. Conolly believed that asylums should be set in a farm or gardens and the buildings

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[240]Shoppee was also Treasurer in 1877 and Deputy Governor in 1887. See *The Charter and By-laws of the Corporation of the Governor and Directors of the Hospital for Poor French Protestants and Their Descendants Residing in Great Britain 1718*, Rochester, 1972.

[241]The infirmaries are one of the works listed in Shoppee's Candidate's Statement, R.I.B.A. Fellows' Nomination Papers.

[242]See Alison Felstead, Jonathan Franklin & Leslie Pinfield (comp.), *Directory of British Architects 1834-1900*, London, 1993, p. 832 & Candidate's Separate Statement, R.I.B.A. Fellows' Nomination Papers.

[243]See Jeremy Taylor, *Hospital and Asylum Architecture in England 1840-1914: Building for Health Care*, London, 1991, p. 138.

[244]*Ibid.*

should be 'more cheerful than imposing, more resembling a well-built hospital than a place of seclusion or imprisonment'.[245]

While Shoppee had absorbed some of Conolly's ideas about the design of lunatic asylums, the challenges which confronted him when designing the New Zealand Asylum were very different from those he faced supervising construction of Daukes' building. In accepting the New Zealand Lunatic Asylum commission, he took on the problems of erecting an asylum in a distant colony he had never visited, in contrast to supervising in England the construction of another architect's building. The scale of the asylums was also very different. Colney Hatch asylum was built for 1250 patients; New Zealand's Lunatic Asylum was to house only 112 according to one scheme and 110 according to another.[246]

When presenting his designs, Shoppee acknowledged the 'kind and valuable assistance of Dr. W. Charles Hood, Resident Physician of Bethleham Hospital, London',[247] in 'the arrangement and detail of the proposed asylum'.[248] Hood's involvement and Shoppee's experience at Colney Hatch resulted in designs which conformed to the most up-to-date principles. The New Zealand Lunatic Asylum was to be set within 'Pleasure and Kitchen Gardens'[249] and central airing courts were likewise to be set out as pleasure gardens with summer houses at the junctions of the paths.[250] The building was to enclose 3 acres [1.2

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[245]See *Ibid.*, p. 135, quoting Conolly, p. 14.

[246]H, 1, 30.

[247]AAFV, G119, 'The Lunatic Asylum for the Colony of New Zealand. Description of Mr Charles John Shoppee's Design. 1859'.

[248]*Ibid.*

[249]*Ibid.*, p. 9.

[250]*Ibid.*, p. 10.

41. hectares] of land, and the airing courts and approaches were to comprise another three.[251] Shoppee intended to provide separate rooms for individual patients, rather than wards, and to further classify male and female patients into distinct groups according to the then accepted practice. The asylum, like Daukes' Colney Hatch, was to be 'essentially linear',[252] rooms for patients stretching out beyond the central administration block along corridors which define quadrangles on either side of an administrative 'spine'. One side of the building was to be designated the female wing, and the other the male wing, each range of the wings being further classified for use as accommodation for the sick, aged and infirm; convalescent; and noisy, dirty and violent patients.

When choosing Nelson as the site for the asylum Prendergast observed that 'from fear of earthquakes it is a settled point that buildings cannot be of stone or brick'.[253] Although he was not prepared to recommend what material should be used, he left little doubt that he favoured timber.[254] Shoppee, in any case, preferred timber construction, though not for the reasons alluded to by Prendergast. According to Shoppee, 'local materials should be used
42. as far as applicable'.[255] The style of his designs was thus, he
43. explained, 'the half timbered or Old English manner of building as practised where Timber was plentiful and the material most easily procured'.[256] The foundations and basement were to be rubble walls

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[251]H, 1, 30, 5 July 1860.

[252]Taylor, p. 138.

[253]H, 1, 30, Prendergast [to Colonial Secretary?], 24 November [1858].

[254]The land was acquired by the Superintendent of the Nelson Province, the land being purchased form Thomas Marsden at a cost of £562.10.0.

[255]AAFV, G119, 'The Lunatic Asylum for the Colony of New Zealand. Description of Mr Charles John Shoppee's Design. 1859', p. 2.

of local stone,[257] the framing was to be of timber 'plastered externally between the Timbers on strong cleft laths,[258] though the roof was to be of Staffordshire plain tiles[259] and the window frames of cast iron.[260]

In some ways Shoppee's thinking about the construction of the asylum had been foreshadowed by architects previously responsible for designing hospital buildings in New Zealand. Half-timbered construction had also been proposed by Cridland for his unrealised project for the Lyttelton Hospital and it was a method of building Thatcher alluded to in his designs for the Auckland and New Plymouth Colonial Hospitals. Shoppee's project for a half-timbered asylum was, however, conceived on a scale never previously envisaged in the colony and with internal arrangements adapted to the most advanced principles of asylum design.

On 28 June 1860 Nelson-based architect and engineer Maxwell Bury (1825-1912) agreed to prepare working drawings for its construction and to supervise the work, a job estimated to take four years, each 'wing or square taking 18 or 20 months to complete'.[261] The building was never constructed, however; the General Assembly was not prepared to vote money for the asylum, preferring instead to delegate responsibility for caring for the mentally ill to the provinces. Although exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts in London

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[256] *Ibid.*

[257] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[258] *Ibid.*

[259] *Ibid.*, p. 14. Corrugated iron was to be used to roof the verandahs.

[260] *Ibid.*

[261] H, 1, 30, 5 July 1860.

in 1860,[262] Shoppee's project languished in governmental offices in New Zealand.

A number of buildings erected in the colony after Shoppee's project arrived in New Zealand nevertheless recall his work. Mountfort's later, half-timbered wards[263] and Administration Building and House Surgeon's Premises (1875) for the Christchurch Hospital have some similarities. Both the pavilion plan of the Christchurch hospital and use of corrugated iron and concrete for the walls distinguish Mountfort's buildings from Shoppee's project but their revealed timber frame invites comparison.

Though built over forty years after Shoppee prepared his project, the Rotorua Bathhouse (1906-8, additions 1911 and 1982) also invites comparison. The work of B. S. Corlett (the Tourist Department's Inspector of Works) and W. J. Trigg (the Department's draughtsman) with some assistance from J. W. Wrigely (a Rotorua-based architect), the Rotorua Bathhouse was designed following an extensive tour of spa buildings by the Government Balneologist, Dr Wohlmann.[264] Wohlmann would have preferred to build a stone building but he chose instead 'the old English Style of architecture modified to meet colonial requirements'[265] because, in his view, 'there was more comfort in the homely timbered buildings of Nauheim [near Frankfurt]

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[262]Graves, *The Royal Academy of Art: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors... 1769 to 1904*, vol. VII, London, 1906 (vol. 4, London, 1970 reprint), p. 117.

[263]Wards four & five (1872-6) designed by Mountfort and ward six (1878), possibly by Mountfort. See Ruth M. Helms, 'Christchurch Hospital 1861-1876: An Architectural History', *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, vol. 11, 1990, pp. 9-18.

[264]See Ian Rockel, *Taking the Waters: Early Spas in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1986, pp. 30-35.

[265]Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 30. Rockel's source is Tourist department File 1901/5, Wohlmann to Minister for Tourist and Health Resorts, 26 September 1902. See also Peter Shaw, *New Zealand Architecture from Polynesian Beginnings to 1990*, p. 70.

than in all the cold glory of marble palaces'.[266] A more immediate source for the building was Shoppee's plans though probably Corlett and Trigg arrived at similar solutions to Shoppee without directly referring to his project - Shoppee's designs had been long forgotten.

Also lying discarded and forgotten in departmental offices by 1868 were various projects for a Government House and Anderson's plans for a General Assembly House and government offices in Auckland. Together they documented the missed opportunities and false starts that typified the Government's work as architect and builder in the period 1853-68. The erection of buildings in a wide range of styles revealed that there was no overall vision for the country's government architecture and conflicting views about the approach which should be adopted. Ultimately, the construction in Dunedin of a large post office for which no practical use could be found confirmed that the Government had mismanaged the tasks entrusted to it by the colonists. Although they had enthusiastically welcomed the introduction of self-government in the 1850s, colonists had been poorly served in the provision of government services and buildings by the politicians they elected; the General Government would, as a result, be forced to reassess its role in this sphere.

Nowhere would it feel the pressure for change more strongly than in the colony's new capital, Wellington. Progress transforming that town into a capital city was lamentably slow. The reliance on ad-hoc patronage of politicians with professional architectural training (Wood and Mason), military advisers (Mould) and

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[266]Rockel, p. 30.

architectural competition as a means of securing designs was, as politicians realised, simply inadequate to the task of quickly providing suitable General Government buildings in a town which had none - and in a colony made up of small, isolated settlements. New solutions, new administrative structures, were required. In short, it had become essential that the General Government establish a Colonial Architect's office from which design and construction of government buildings could be co-ordinated.

CHAPTER FOUR

William Henry Clayton and the Colonial Architect's Office, 1869-77[1]

In June 1870 the Colonial Treasurer of New Zealand, (Sir) Julius Vogel (1835-99),[2] announced an ambitious and controversial programme of public works and immigration intended to stimulate economic growth. By borrowing on an unprecedented scale, Vogel planned to assist immigration and finance construction of a comprehensive rail and road network. As the population increased so, according to Vogel, would the labour be found to construct railways and roads and farm the land which would be brought into production.

Although careful at the outset not to alienate the Provincial Governments, Vogel came to see immigration and public works as a means of transforming New Zealand from a collection of sparsely populated and isolated provinces into a centralised and unified colony. Erection of government buildings became an integral part of this nation-building. A year before Vogel's scheme was implemented the General Government again accepted responsibility for the construction of most provincial and metropolitan government buildings; the number of buildings erected by the General Government increased dramatically under Vogel's scheme. Partly as a result of the scale and success of the construction programme, the Provincial Governments were abolished in 1876 with surprisingly little dissent.

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[1]Some of the information in this chapter appeared earlier in my paper 'Constructing a Colonial Identity: W. H. Clayton's Standard Designs for Government Buildings in New Zealand Towns, 1869-77', given at the 1994 Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians of Australia and New Zealand.

[2]For a full account of Vogel's life and career see Raewyn Dalziel, *Julius Vogel: Business Politician* [Auckland], 1986.

The expense of Vogel's immigration and public works scheme unnerved many of his colleagues but Vogel himself was confident of New Zealand's ability to both raise the money and contain costs at sustainable levels. His confidence increased when he visited America in 1871.[3] Having travelled by train through Pittsburgh and Baltimore to New York, he wrote to his colleagues suggesting that when constructing railways New Zealand 'follow the example of America in having the most simple style of station'. According to Vogel, such an approach 'while not entailing a large amount of inconvenience' would save 'a very considerable amount of expense'.[4] Thus, for Vogel America provided both a precedent for advocating construction of railways on a limited budget and a context within which New Zealand's public works programme as a whole could be promoted. Rather than regarding New Zealand's simple timber structures as embarrassingly inferior to the public buildings of Britain, they could now be seen as analogous to those that linked disparate settlements in as large and important a nation as the United States of America.

Whatever the promotional value of Vogel's discoveries in America, the buildings and structures erected in New Zealand under his scheme were designed by architects and engineers who had little, if any, first-hand experience of American developments. The English firm of Brogden and Sons secured the contract for constructing New Zealand's railways, while within New Zealand itself an architectural office evolved to design and supervise construction of government buildings. Headed by Vogel's father-in-law, William Henry Clayton

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[3]Vogel visited America to discuss tariffs and mail services on his way to London to raise the first instalment of the loan for immigration and public works.

[4]TP, 4, 14 & also the summary of OP, 7, 1198 in OP, 9, 17.

(1823-77),[5] it was responsible for erecting governmental buildings throughout the country, achieving in the process a coherence of architectural style which was expressive of the colonial unity Vogel envisaged.

Although Clayton had a small staff to assist him, he came to personify the office. He was not replaced by another Colonial Architect when he died in 1877 and his staff continued his work using the architectural vocabulary he evolved for the design of government buildings. Not until an architect who had no previous association with Clayton's office, John Campbell (1857-1942), became responsible for design of government buildings in 1889 were significant changes made in the architectural character of new works.

Born in Launceston, Tasmania, Clayton's approach towards architecture was shaped in both that colony and in Europe. His family home in Launceston, 'Wickford' (c. 1838), built when he was about 15 years old, has somewhat implausibly been attributed to him.[6] In spite of this attribution, Clayton had not undertaken any formal architectural training when Wickford was designed. Rather, his architectural training began in 1840 when he and his immediate family left Tasmania for Europe. Regrettably, he left few comments on his life there. He trained, he said, with 'one of the first [i.e. most distinguished] architects in England'.[7] An account of his career published in 1940 claimed (on the basis of family information) that

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[5]Vogel had married William Henry Clayton's daughter, Mary, in 1867. See Dalziel, p. 42.

[6]On 'Wickford' see *The Heritage of Australia: The Illustrated Register of the National Estate*, South Melbourne, 1981, 7/138 & Philip Cox & Clive Lucas, *Australian Colonial Architecture*, East Melbourne, 1978, pp. 22, 24, 25 (ill.) & 70.

[7]*Hobart Town Courier*, 9 May 1848.

he 'qualified in Brussels as an architect and in London (under Sir John Rennie)'.[8] The claim that he studied under Rennie was disputed in 1985 in the first (and only) detailed study of Clayton's career,[9] although no satisfactory alternative was established.[10]

Despite further investigation, the details of Clayton's early career remain obscure, though various clues survive which, in light of the contradictory claims, warrant detailed discussion. The claim that Clayton trained in Brussels is based on the evidence of an 1841 police passport, valid for fifteen days, issued to Clayton to assist his travel from Antwerp to Brussels. The passport describes the 17 year old Clayton as a student and, although a native of Van Diemansland (Tasmania), he is said to be living in London.[11] It provides evidence only of the fact that Clayton took the opportunity to visit Brussels; he must also have visited other cities in Europe. In 1877, when his family left New Zealand for England, he recommended

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[8]G. H. Scholefield, *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 1, Wellington, 1940, p. 160.

[9]S. A. Crighton, 'William Henry Clayton: Colonial Architect', M.A. Thesis (History), University of Canterbury, 1985. Crighton disputes Scholefield's account stating that Scholefield's source is personal information supplied by J. L. F. Vogel , but 'J. L. F. Vogel was killed in action at Shangri River, Matabeleland, 1894'. *Ibid.*, p. ii. Scholefield is, however, unlikely to have fabricated this 'personal information'. One of Julius Vogel's grandsons, J. E. F. Vogel, lived in Upper Hutt for many years and may be the source of Scholefield's personal information. See H. B. Holmes Folder, Ms-Papers-2607, A.T.L., & *Wise's New Zealand Post Office Directory*, 1939, p. 2349.

[10]Crighton corresponded with the Royal Institute of British Architects; Institution of Civil Engineers; University College, London; Architectural Association; National Library, Scotland; the Royal Historical Society and the National Committee of Biography, Brussels which did 'extensive searches' on her behalf. None of these institutions uncovered any information. See S. A. Crighton, 'William Henry Clayton: Colonial Architect', M.A. Thesis, p. ii. In addition the student registers of the Royal Academy of Arts and King's College, University of London, have been checked without success.

[11]See Ms-Papers-2072-59, A.T.L. There is a note on the envelope in which this passport is contained which states that it was gifted by Julius L[eonard] Vogel, one of Julius Vogel's son to his nephew Frank W. Vogel, the passport being that of 'his mother's father when a student in Brussels of Architecture'. Julius Leonard Vogel's mother was Emily Vogel (née Clayton), William Henry Clayton's eldest daughter.

that his wife live in Germany while their children were at English boarding schools 'because living costs were cheaper in Germany than England',[12] a recommendation which confirms that Clayton knew about life in other parts of Europe. Clayton's 1841 visit to Brussels was thus surely part of a more extended visit - the traditional grand tour undertaken by young architects as an integral part of their architectural education.[13] Evidence that Clayton received formal architectural education in Brussels is, at best, circumstantial.[14]

Clayton's life in Britain likewise remains difficult to document, not least because his statement that he trained with 'one of the first architects in England' cannot easily be reconciled with the assertion that he trained with Rennie. Although Sir John Rennie (1794-1874)[15] was one of England's 'first' engineers, he was not one of that country's most distinguished architects. The Royal William Victualling Yard at Stonehouse, near Plymouth, completed in 1832 - some eight years before Clayton arrived in Britain - has recently been described as 'his only important architectural work'.[16] When Clayton later attempted to obtain engineering work in New Zealand he stated that he had been 'appointed by Sir William Denison (a civil

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[12]Ms-Papers-0178-091, W. H. Clayton to Mary Vogel, 13 May 1877 & W. H Clayton to Julius Vogel, 27 May 1877. He was able to send only £50 per month, and was therefore concerned about the cost of his family living abroad.

[13]On travel as part of British architectural education see Mark Crinson & Jules Lubbock, *Architecture: Art or Profession? Three Hundred Years of Architectural Education in Britain*, Manchester, 1994, pp. 20, 22, 24-6, 31, 35, 38 & 40.

[14]A search of the student registers of the Institut Superieur D'Architecture Intercommunal 'previously incorporated in the Beaux Arts Academy of Brussels' (Correspondence with Marc Crunelle, Institut Superieur D'Architecture Intercommunal, 13 May 1994) and a search of various records undertaken in 1985 by the National Committee of Biography, Brussels, has failed to uncover any record of Clayton.

[15]On Rennie's architectural work see Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, London, 1978, pp. 677-8.

[16]*Ibid.*, p. 677.

engineer of eminence) Engineer of Roads and Bridges in the Northern districts of Tasmania',[17] but made no mention of the even more eminent Rennie. If Clayton had trained with Rennie, engineering would presumably have become the focus of his professional life. Instead, Clayton emerged from Europe with some civil engineering and surveying skills but his principal professional interest was architecture.

Ultimately, there is little reason to doubt Clayton's own statement that he trained with 'one of the first architects in England'.[18] In his last few years in London he exhibited architectural drawings at the Royal Academy of Arts: a design for a Town and County Hall in 1846 and, in the following year, a design for an Institute of British Architects Office, a proposal he had earlier submitted to the Institute in competition for the Royal Medal.[19] When exhibiting at the Academy, Clayton gave his address as '2, Derby Street, Parliament Street',[20] the professional address of Edward Lapidge (1793-1860),[21] revealing that he knew Lapidge and probably that he served articles under him.[22]

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[17]See OP, 7, 8639, Clayton to Superintendent of Otago, 27 February 1868.

[18]Anna Crighton, 'Clayton, William Henry 1823-1877', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume Two: 1870-1900* (Claudia Orange, gen. ed.), Wellington, 1993, p. 89, likewise concludes that 'While in England William Clayton was articled to a prominent architect, and in the course of his architectural training he became proficient in surveying and civil engineering'.

[19]Royal Academy of Arts, *Summer Exhibition Catalogue 1847*, entry no. 1173. See also the incomplete annotation in Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904*, vol. II, London, 1905, p. 79. (vol. 1, 1970 reprint).

[20]Graves, p. 79.

[21]Lapidge's professional address from 1837 to 1854 was '2 Derby Street, Westminster, London'. See Alison Felstead, Jonathan Franklin & Leslie Pinfield (comp.), *Directory of British Architects 1834-1900* (Claudia Orange, gen. ed.), London, 1993, p. 544. See also *Post Office London Directory, 1847*, London [1847], p. 1083 which lists Edward Lapidge at 2 Derby Street, Parliament Street. Also at that address (according to *ibid.*, p. 215) were Henry C. Price (engineer) & Geo. Lewis Smyth (Parliamentary

Although Colvin describes Lapidge as 'a competent but fairly conventional practitioner of his day',[23] Clayton (who did not possess the benefit of historical hindsight afforded Colvin) might well have regarded Lapidge as 'one of the first architects in England'.[24] Lapidge's chief surviving works are 'dull Gothic churches in yellow stock brick'[25] but he 'entered some more ambitious designs for public competitions',[26] including a third-placed classical project of 1822 for additions at King's College, Cambridge,[27] and a Tudor-Gothic design in the Parliament Buildings competition of 1835. His other governmental work included unrealised submissions of 1809 and 1834 for improvements around the Houses of Parliament and Westminster

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Agent). Price is elsewhere listed as a mechanical but not as a civil engineer see *ibid.*, pp. 1199 & 1200.

[22]The Lapidge family had some connections with New Zealand. Edward Lapidge's son, Samuel (1815-92) was 'sent to New Zealand' after getting into financial difficulties. See Sir William P. Elderton to Secretary, Royal Institute of British Architects, 6 September 1956, on Lapidge File, British Architectural Library, London. The information that Samuel Lapidge emigrated to New Zealand is repeated in Colvin, p. 506 & Alison Felstead, Jonathan Franklin & Leslie Pinfield (comp.), *Directory of British Architects 1834-1900*, London, 1993, p. 544. Whether or not Samuel's decision to live in New Zealand was connected with Clayton's presence in the colony is not known. The death of a Samuel Lappidge, farmer, was registered in New Zealand in 1892. No next of kin are listed in his death register entry, no. 274, Registrar of Births Deaths and Marriages, Lower Hutt.

[23]Colvin, p. 506.

[24]A brief biography of Lapidge was included in Frederick Boase, *Modern English Biography*, vol. II, London, 1965 (first published 1897), column 306 suggesting that in the nineteenth century he was considered a notable figure.

[25]Colvin, p. 506. John Summerson, *Georgian London*, London, 1962, p. 225, also describes Lapidge's St Peter's Church, Hammersmith, as 'clumsy'. Lapidge's principal churches are St Peter's Church, Hammersmith (1827-29), St. Andrew's chapel, Ham. Common, Surrey (1830-31), extensive rebuilding of St Mary's church, Putney (1836-7) and All Saints church, Fulham (1839-40). See Jill Lever (ed.), *Catalogue of the Drawings of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, L-N vol., Farnborough, Hants, 1973, p. 16. See also the more extensive list of Lapidge's works in Colvin, p. 506.

[26]Colvin, p. 506.

[27]On this project see *Architect and Building News*, 23 June 1933, p. 343 (ill) & 344-5.

Abbey.[28] Appointed Surveyor of the County of Surrey in 1824, he established a reputation as 'a good bridge builder';[29] his most important work was 'the bridge of five elliptical arches over the Thames at Kingston'[30] (1824-7). Had Clayton served his articles under Lapidge he would therefore have received a thorough knowledge of bridge construction and civil engineering as well as a sound if somewhat conservative training in architecture.

Regardless of who Clayton trained with, the overall impression is of a well-travelled architect who at an early age had experienced at first hand both British colonial buildings in Tasmania (the Italianate works of John Lee Archer, for example)[31] and works by British architects such as Lapidge and his more famous contemporaries, notably Charles Barry (1795-1860). Familiar with some of the great works of European architecture, Clayton was also well aware of, and attuned to, the realities of architectural practice in colonies where (as his English-born contemporary, Edward Rumsey, only later discovered) 'wooden shantees and native huts are considered works of art'.

Returning to Tasmania in 1848, Clayton spent four years (late 1850-55) working in the Surveyor-General's Department[32] (a position

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[28]See Royal Institute of British Architects, *Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (Jill Lever, ed.), L-N vol., p. 16. Block plans for both are held by the R.I.B.A. See *ibid.*

[29]Summerson, p. 225. Lapidge also exhibited a design for a Suspension Bridge at the Royal Academy of Arts. Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904*, vol. IV, London, 1906, p. 386 (vol. 2 of 1970 reprint).

[30]Colvin, p. 506.

[31]On Archer see Roy Smith, *John Lee Archer: Tasmanian Architect and Engineer* [Hobart], 1962.

[32]He successfully applied for an appointment in 1850 and was in 1852 permanently appointed as a government surveyor. Correspondence with Archives Office of Tasmania, Hobart, 24 November 1993.

which recalls Lapidge's as surveyor of Surrey). He also established a thriving architectural practice,[33] claiming in 1863 to have designed over 300 works including churches, 'mansions' and commercial buildings. A prolific designer, he was also highly eclectic. His design for St Mark's Anglican Church, Deloraine (1859), reveals an awareness of Ecclesiological principles,[34] while his Chalmers Church for the Free Kirk, Launceston (1860),[35] is a 'daring stucco design conspicuously free of constraining historical precedent',[36] with a Perpendicular tower which has been compared with the belfry at Bruges.[37] To judge by these two churches alone, Clayton was a very adaptable architect, prepared to alter his approach to satisfy the requirements of his clients. On the evidence of these buildings, too, Clayton had emerged from his trip to London (an environment which shaped the ideas of both Thatcher and Rumsey) aware of but uninhibited by the principles promoted by Pugin, Ruskin and the Ecclesiologists. A similar flexibility in Clayton's approach towards design later became evident in his New Zealand buildings.

His major governmental work in Tasmania, the Public Buildings,

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[33]He formed a partnership with E. D. Edwards in 1861. *Cornwall Chronicle*, 9 January 1861, p. 7.

[34]See Anna Crighton, 'William Henry Clayton (1823-77)', A paper given at the 1990 Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians of Australia and New Zealand, p. 1, where the building is described as 'redolent of Ecclesiological propriety'. The roof is, however, 'interrupted by parapets at the transept junction'. See *The Heritage of Australia: The Illustrated Register of the National Estate*, 7/103.

[35]Richard Apperly, Robert Irving & Peter Reynolds, *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture: Styles and Terms from 1788 to the Present*, North Ryde, New South Wales, 1989, p. 83.

[36]*Ibid.*

[37]See Anna Crighton, 'William Clayton (1823-1877)', A paper given at the 1990 Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians of Australia and New Zealand, p. 1. The 'octagonal lantern on the Houses of Parliament', Westminster, is also suggested as a possible influence.

corner of St John and Cameron Streets, Launceston (1859-60),[38] likewise anticipates his New Zealand designs. Although later painted, the buildings were constructed of 'black brick and much freestone dressing', creating a strong contrast of colour which foreshadows the constructional polychromy of some of the brick buildings Clayton later erected in Dunedin. The Public Buildings also reveal an early interest in Italianate classicism which was to become the hallmark of the work of the Colonial Architect's office.

Despite receiving a large number of commissions in Tasmania, Clayton decided to migrate to Dunedin in 1863, presumably hoping for a share of the work precipitated by the discovery of gold in Otago two years earlier. He first set up in practice on his own but in February 1864 formed a partnership with William Mason. The work he designed with Mason reveals his propensity for the use of a limited range of architectural forms for diverse building types. His All Saints Church, Cumberland Street, Dunedin (1864-5) (a building influenced by Robert Jewell Wither's design for St Helens, Lttle Cawthorpe, Lincs.)[39] and Lisburn House, Caversham (a residence built in 1865),[40] for example, employ a similar architectural vocabulary of steeply-pitched gables and polychromatic brickwork.

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[38]For an illustration see *The Heritage of Australia: The Illustrated Register of the National Estate*, 7/127.

[39]Published in the *Ecclesiologist* XX, 1859. See Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, entry on William Henry Clayton prepared for the forthcoming *Macmillan Dictionary of Art*, typescript in the Clayton file, Architects Index, Reference Room, School of Fine Arts, University of Canterbury. The similarities between these buildings were also noted by Anna Crighton when presenting the paper 'William Clayton (1823-1877)' to the 1990 conference of the Society of Architectural Historians of Australia and New Zealand. See the slide list which accompanies Crighton's paper.

[40]A tender notice for a brick gentleman's residence at Caversham was inserted by Mason and Clayton in the *Otago Daily Times*, 9 August 1864, p. 5.

Also while in partnership with Mason, Clayton began to further develop and refine the Italianate architectural vocabulary that he was to use for most of the government buildings he erected as Colonial Architect. Mason's office was the ideal environment in which to experiment. Such notable Italianate works as the Exhibition Building (1864-5), Otago Provincial Government Buildings (1865-6), and Post Office (1865-8) (all in Dunedin) were being constructed by Mason shortly after Clayton entered into partnership with him. Although Clayton would have been involved with their construction (and possibly with the design of the relatively restrained Otago Provincial Government Buildings),[41] the early governmental buildings he designed on his own reveal an interest in vernacular Italianate architectural elements which contrasts with the more formal Renaissance vocabulary Mason favoured.

One of the first governmental works which can be attributed to
44. Clayton with any degree of certainty is the Oamaru Post Office. Tenders for the building were called in April and May 1864,[42] and construction completed by 22 August that year.[43] The architectural vocabulary was the 'vernacular' Italianate earlier popularised by Charles Parker's *Villa Rustica* (1832), though the building is not obviously derived from any one of Parker's designs. Rather, Clayton combines many of the architectural elements Parker illustrates - a simple Italianate tower, gables of a low pitch, wide overhanging

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[41]On these buildings see OP, 7, 4532 & John Stacpoole, *William Mason: The First New Zealand Architect*, Auckland, 1971, pp. 93-4 & ills. 67-9.

[43]*Otago Daily Times*, 26 April 1864, p. 2, tenders due 29 April 1864, later extended to 13 May 1864. See *ibid.*, 4 May 1864, p. 2. The plans were later registered by the Public Works Department under Clayton's name. See W, 16, map register entries for P.W.D. 12611 & P.W.D. 12612 (additions contract).

[43]*Otago Daily Times*, 27 August 1864, p. 5.

eaves supported by large brackets and arched window and door surrounds with oversized imposts and quoins[44] - to articulate the astylar, planar surfaces of the Oamaru stone walls. All of these elements were to be used by Clayton while Colonial Architect. Despite the asymmetric accent of the tower there was also a high degree of symmetry[45] typical of Clayton's approach to composition. Essentially domestic in scale, the Oamaru Post Office recalls the Italianate houses inspired by Parker which Clayton would have known in Tasmania, for example, Northbury, Longford (1862).[46]

Clayton further developed his ideas about the design of government buildings in New Zealand when Mason and Clayton were commissioned to prepare designs for a colonial museum in Wellington. Through his association with this building Clayton confronted, for probably the first time, the inherently New Zealand architectural problems of constructing a government building in timber and was introduced to the practice of using timber cladding to imitate stone.

The commission for the colonial museum had its genesis in proposals for construction of a geological museum in Dunedin. In 1861 the Otago Provincial Government appointed Dr James Hector (1834-1907)[47] to undertake a geological survey of the province and by the

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[44]See, for example, plates 2 & 3 of Charles Parker, *Villa Rustica*, London, 1848 edition, showing Raphael's Villa in the Borghese Gardens near Rome.

[45]Additions were made in the financial year 1868-9 so that the building would 'accommodate the Post, Telegraph, and Customs Departments'. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1869, E.-1. One gable of the original building appears to have been removed at a later date, presumably to provide better access to the new Post Office (1884), designed by Forrester & Lemon, and built alongside Clayton's building.

[46]On Northbury see Miles Lewis, 'The Victorian House', *The History and Design of the Australian House* (Robert Irving, comp.), Melbourne, 1985, p. 70-1.

[47]On Dr James Hector see R. K. Dell, 'Hector, James 1834-1907', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One: 1769-1869* (W. H. Oliver, gen. ed.), Wellington, 1990, pp. 183-4.

following year Hector required a museum building to house the geological samples he had collected. He intended to build 'a plain weatherboarded' museum building with a 'front part divided into two stories for work rooms, for preparing and arranging space and for making photographs'.[48] The Provincial Engineer, Charles Swyer, was asked in 1863 to report on Hector's proposals but in his view they could not be approved. In Swyer's opinion, elevations and working drawings should be prepared by an architect.[49]

No further work on construction of the museum building was undertaken until 1865 when Hector was appointed to Wellington to co-ordinate a geological survey of the whole of the colony. As a result of his new appointment Hector's attention turned to the construction of a museum building in the capital. On 28 April 1865 he was instructed by the Colonial Secretary to submit his proposals for a museum to Mason and Clayton to have specifications drawn up for
45. construction in Wellington.[50] Designs for the building were drafted by Thomas Forrester[51] to the general description of the structure Hector had earlier intended to build in Dunedin. Forrester worked as a draftsman for Mason and Clayton during the 1860s[52] and presumably prepared the museum designs when employed by the firm. In whatever

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[48]OP, 7, 1448.

[49]*Ibid.* See especially the summary of this material in OP, 9, 2. The tone and content of Swyer's comments on Hector's proposals suggest that they were drafted by W. B. Armson, one of Swyer's staff.

[50]'Dr James Hector's Letterbook', 1865-70, p. 14. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington.

[51]Two sheets of drawings drafted by Forrester have the signature of John Beck on them, presumably the timber merchant, John Beck, who was advertising his business in Wellington in the *Evening Post*, 18 September 1865, p. 3. On Forrester (and Lemon) see P. C. McCarthy, 'Victorian Oamaru: The Architecture of Forrester and Lemon', M.A. Thesis (Art History), University of Canterbury, 1986.

[52]In 1869 Clayton provided Forrester with a reference which states that he had known Forrester for about six years during which time he was employed as a draughtsman in the office of Mason and Clayton. See McCarthy, p. 15.

capacity he prepared his designs, however, Hector reported to the Colonial Secretary that the firm of Mason and Clayton had 'very much improved the plans as originally submitted, and while increasing the suitability for the purpose intended have not increased the
46. expense'.[53] A perspective of the proposed building was being prepared by George O'Brien (1821?-88)[54] to give a 'view of the appearance which the building will present when complete'.[55]

It was intended that the building O'Brien depicted would be built in piecemeal fashion. A simple timber-framed and weatherboard structure with a rectangular plan,[56] designed to serve as the hall of the completed building, was built by September 1865.[57] A wing was added in 1868[58] and further additions were made in 1871 and 1873.[59] Construction of the final stage of the museum, the central office block in front of the hall, was completed in the 1874-5 financial

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[53]'Hector's Letterbook', p. 26.

[54]The perspective is inscribed 'Mason & Clayton - Architects 24 May 1865' and is held by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. See also Roger Collins & Peter Entwisle, *Pavilioned in Splendour: George O'Brien's Vision of Colonial New Zealand*, Dunedin, 1986, p. 51.

[55]'Hector's Letterbook', p. 26.

[56]When, in 1868, Canterbury was considering construction of a museum building Holmes suggested to Canterbury Museum Director, Julius von Haast, that the province put up a timber building making it 'as ugly as they please, like this [the Colonial Museum] was before the new wing was added'. See H. F. von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast: Explorer, Geologist, Museum Builder*, Wellington, 1948, p. 570.

[57]*A.J.H.R.*, 1866, D.-9, p. 3. As originally proposed there was to be 'a wing of equal extent to the hall at each end, and a two storied front that will afford all the required office accommodation'.

[58]*Ibid.*, 1868, D.-14, p. 2.

[59]Plans for additions are dated 24 February 1871 & also 6 February 1873. See aperture card of P.W.D. 15386, Works Consultancy, Wellington & the tender notice, *New Zealand Government Gazette*, 6 February 1873, p. 92. Additions to the value of £471 0s 7d had been finished by 1 July 1873. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1874, E.-3, Appendix F, p. 68.

year[60] when the museum was described as 'a complete and roomy structure'.[61] Although the massing of the various parts of the building remained as depicted in the 1865 perspective, the detailing of the elevations was altered under Clayton's supervision during the protracted process of construction. It is therefore the 1865 O'Brien perspective, rather than the completed building, which documents Mason and Clayton's early approach towards design of timber government buildings.

The underlying model is James Pennethorne's Museum of Economic Geology, London, under construction between 1847 and 1848 when Clayton lived in London.[62] Though the designs drafted by Mason and Clayton are for a very much smaller and more modest building than Pennethorne's, they use timber to imitate some of the classical masonry forms of the Italianate architectural vocabulary Pennethorne employed. For Mason, this practice was scarcely new; the principal facades of both his Auckland Government House (1855-6) and Supreme Court House (1841-2) also evoked masonry. However, the more formal Renaissance elements Mason favoured, balustrades, urns, pilasters and pediments, are nowhere present in the Colonial Museum. Nor is there evidence of Mason's predilection for concentrating architectural ornament on a single facade, suggesting that Clayton was the principal designer. At the very least, Clayton would have become familiar with the practice of using timber to imitate masonry through

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[60]For the 1874-5 additions (the contract for which was let in December 1874) see the aperture card of P.W.D. 15387, Works Consultancy, Wellington.

[61]*A.J.H.R.*, 1876, E.-1, Appendix E, p. 70.

[62]For an account of the Museum of Economic Geology, London, see Geoffrey Tyack, *Sir James Pennethorne and the Making of Victorian London*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 179-92 & J. Mordaunt Crook & H. M. Port, *The History of the King's Works* (H. M. Colvin, gen. ed.), Volume VI, 1782-1851, pp. 460-1 & plate 29A.

his association with construction of the museum. The imitation quoins and rusticated weatherboarding of the Colonial Museum were later to become important elements in the architectural vocabulary he used for timber government buildings.

Clayton did not, however, use these elements in his largest governmental work of the 1860s, the new timber Government House, Wellington, a commission which originated while Clayton worked with Mason. It eventually took him to Wellington, established his reputation in the capital and was central to the creation of the office of Colonial Architect. As early as 1864, when the decision was taken to remove the capital from Auckland to Wellington, Mason and Dr Featherston (Superintendent of Wellington Province) were instructed to select a site for a Government House in the new capital. Mason was also instructed to prepare plans for the house,[63] and is credited with creating designs for a half-timbered building of uncharacteristically irregular massing for which a perspective survives.[64]

It was, however, Clayton rather than Mason who was to benefit from the latter's political connections. An alternative design for Government House was created by Clayton and it was his proposal which was preferred by the Premier, Frederick Weld (1823-91).[65] In

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[63]The commission initiated by the Weld Ministry was investigated by the Stafford Ministry which took office on 16 October 1865. On 28 November 1865 Mason & Clayton were asked to state the precise nature of their engagement for the Government House. See IA, 4, 16, no. 117. Their reply (that the original commission was a verbal one with Mason but that the plans were later approved) is recorded in IA, 135, 1, Mason and Clayton to Gisborne, 9 December 1865. These events are also outlined in Stacpoole, *William Mason: The First New Zealand Architect*, p. 89.

[64]For an illustration see *ibid.*, plate 79.

[65]On Weld see Jeanine Graham, 'Weld, Frederick 1823-1891', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One: 1769-1869* (W. H. Oliver, gen. ed.), Wellington, 1990, pp. 79-80.

February and March 1865 the firm of Mason and Clayton called tenders in Dunedin for construction of a Government House in Wellington,[66] intending to erect a building to Clayton's design. Construction was postponed when General Government officials found that it was unable to obtain the site that had been chosen for the building.[67] When Clayton subsequently discovered that another architect had been approached to prepare plans for the house (probably Rumsey), Mason obtained an assurance from the Colonial Secretary that the building would be erected to his firm's design, or some modified version of it to suit an alternative site.

However, Mason's involvement with the construction of the house ceased in 1868 when his partnership with Clayton was dissolved. On 19 October that year Clayton, in search of work, sent the Colonial Secretary a photograph of his design for the Government House offering to 'carry the works to completion for the remaining 2½ per cent',[68] the same amount having already been paid for the preparation of plans and calling of tenders. Five days later Clayton was called to Wellington to confer with a newly-established Government House Commission

> as to the practicability of erecting a building capable of being arranged as a convenient residence for His Excellency for some time, and of being subsequently adapted for government offices in the event of the Wesleyan Reserve or any other better site becoming available as a site for a future Government House and Domain.[69]

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[66]Tenders for construction of the building were called in a notice dated 13 February 1865, the tenders being due by noon 21 March 1865. See IA, 135, 1, Mason & Clayton to Colonial Secretary, 23 February 1865. Concerned that Dunedin contractors only would have the opportunity to tender for the work, Mason was advised that the notice was to be withdrawn and that tenders would be called simultaneously in all the provinces. See IA, 135, 1.

[67]IA, 135, 1, Gisborne to Mason & Clayton, 17 March 1865.

[68]IA, 135, 1.

[69]Ia, 135, 2, Clayton to Wakefield, 16 February 1869.

The Commission's proposal was therefore a familiar one. Like its Auckland counterpart, the Wellington Government House was to be only a temporary vice-regal residence which could later be converted into government offices.[70]

By 1 January 1869 Clayton had sent plans for the building to Wellington with a draft tender notice.[71] When all tenders (received by 20 March that year) proved higher than anticipated Clayton negotiated a reduction of one of them by agreeing to the omission of various extras. Reduced from £13,583 to £10,583,[72] the revised tender was comparable with that accepted by for Mason for the Auckland Government House.[73] Clayton chose, however, to spend the sum allowed for construction of the Wellington Government House very differently from that chosen by Mason when building its Auckland counterpart.

Built on a prominent rise on the site of the existing

47. Government House,[74] Clayton's building was situated adjacent to the

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[70]The proposal to convert the building into government offices was quickly forgotten. The Parliamentary Buildings were destroyed by fire in 1907 and Clayton's Government House appropriated for use by Parliament. It was demolished in 1969 to make way for the present Executive Wing of Parliament Buildings known as the 'Beehive'. On the construction of the 'Beehive' see chapter seven, p. 334.

[71]IA, 135, 1, draft tender notice, attached to Clayton to Wakefield, 1 January 1869.

[72]IA, 135, 1, Architect's Report, 22 July 1869. Somewhat uncharacteristically, the lowest tender not accepted. Clayton asked to meet with the tenderer who submitted the lowest tender in Wellington but he was unable to meet him. He was, however, prepared to send an authorised agent. Clayton refused to meet the agent when he discovered that it was 'one MacKenzie then out on bail for trifling with tenders at Invercargill'. See *ibid* & also IA, 135, 2, record of letter no. 20.

[73]Admittedly, by the time construction was completed in April/May 1871 the Wellington Government House had cost over £14,000. During the course of construction the contractor was declared insolvent and his surety became responsible for completion of the work. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1872, G.-18, p. 33. The surety, John Martin, took over the contract 'in order that he might be saved from loss' but found that completion of the contract far exceeded the amount tendered for. The Government refused to pay the additional sum he claimed to have spent on the contract, despite lengthy deliberations on his claim. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1871, H.-6 & *ibid.* 1872, G.-18.

[74]On this building (bought by the Government in 1846 and later altered for use as a Government House) see chapter two, p. 89.

Colonial Museum and Parliamentary Buildings. In Wellington's hilly terrain it would have been clearly visible from many parts of the town. It is therefore scarcely surprising that, unlike Mason's Auckland Government House, all elevations were treated as an integral part of the composition.[75] Rooms were arranged around a courtyard or cortile in typically Italianate fashion, though in Clayton's
48. Government House this was a utilitarian rather than an architectural feature. Like Charles Barry's Walton House, Surrey (1835-9), the focus of the composition was a single entrance tower on the main elevation of the building.[76]

What distinguished the building from its Italianate counterparts in Britain was its construction in timber. Clayton would have known, and may have been influenced by, Benjamin Mountfort's timber Italianate Christchurch Club (1862) but his own approach towards the construction of Italianate forms in timber was very different from Mountfort's. It was different also from that used for the Colonial Museum which stood adjacent to the Government House. In contrast to the Colonial Museum, the Government House made no pretence at stone construction. Rather, on Clayton's recommendation, the Commissioners responsible for its construction agreed to the use of lapped, feather-edged weatherboards[77] which

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[75]A photograph and plan of the conservatory with a view of the house showing the conservatory attached was sent from Wanganui to the Government House Commissioners, suggesting that it may have been prefabricated. See IA, 135, 2, Watt to Wakefield, 13 February 1869. It has the appearance of an addition.

[76]On Walton House see Alfred Barry, *Memoir of the Life and Works of the late Sir Charles Barry, Architect*, London, second ed., 1870 (first edition 1867), pp. 107-9 and part of the ground floor plan between pp. 108-9.

[77]See IA, 1, 135, Clayton to Secretary, Government House Commission, 17 June 1869.

emphasised the horizontality of the design and the fact that the building was constructed of timber.

The decorative elements Clayton used are simple and also manifestly of timber construction. The verandah posts and those of the porte-cochère had simple bracket-like capitals and the balustrading of the balconies and trellis-like infill of the upper stage of the tower made no allusion to stone or brick and plaster construction. The use of such forms may have been inspired by those of the timber villas illustrated in American pattern books by A. J. Downing and others[78] but the principal motivation for their use, in preference to a richer Renaissance vocabulary, was the pressing need to limit the cost of construction. The triangular pediment on the Bowen Street side of the tower was somewhat alien to the architectural vocabulary of Downing's simple timber villas and its incorporation in the Government House design foreshadowed the use of the more formal Italian Renaissance vocabulary that Clayton would surely have preferred.

The Government House stables (1869-70),[79] erected on the corner
49. of Museum and Sydney Streets, were stylistically related to the house, but the way in which timber is used in their construction could as easily have been British as American in inspiration. Designs for Italianate and Swiss timber stables were illustrated by Peter Frederick Robinson at least as early as 1830[80] and the construction of buildings of such lowly pretensions in timber would

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[78]See, for example, A. J. Downing, *Victorian Cottage Residences*, New York, 1873 (first published 1842), design V as constructed in wood, fig 40.

[79]Clayton reported receiving 7 tenders for the stables on 1 November 1869. See IA, 3, register entry 69/2810.

[80]See P. F. Robinson, *Designs for Farm Buildings*, London, 1830.

not have been considered inappropriate in Britain. Although the Government House stables were a simple utilitarian structure, Clayton used some elements in their design which he employed in his more important works, including the windows with faceted heads which allude to the arched windows of Government House tower, and the low-pitched, gable roofs which are a feature of the Oamaru Post Office.

Although largely constructed while Clayton was Colonial Architect, the Government House (and presumably the stables) had been designed before his appointment. What emerged in these and other early governmental works was a hierarchy of architectural elements and materials, the more lowly buildings such as the stables making reference to the more pretentious, such as the Government House and Oamaru Post Office. In turn, the more pretentious (notably the Colonial Museum) alluded to the Italian Renaissance buildings which were Clayton's ultimate inspiration. Thus, at the date of his appointment as Colonial Architect, Clayton had already developed a flexible but nonetheless immediately recognisable approach towards design of government buildings. In contrast, the administrative structure of the office he was to run had not been given much, if any, thought.

i. The Creation of the Colonial Architect's Department

Appointed to supervise construction of the Government House on 16 February 1869, Clayton was in April of that year offering to perform the services of Colonial Architect and Director of Public Works. His offer was accepted the day after its receipt on exactly the conditions he set out,[81] suggesting that he had some prior

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[81]See IA, 3, register entries 69/345 & 69/346.

discussion with politicians or civil servants at which the details of his engagement were agreed.

According to the conditions of his employment he was to report to the Colonial Secretary, heading his own office known as the Colonial Architect's Department.[82] He would perform the duties of Superintendent of Public Works and Colonial Architect

> for a subsidy of two hundred pounds per annum with an office for all works or contracts up to two hundred pounds and two and half per cent commission in addition on contracts exceeding that amount with such private practice as may offer.[83]

The Government thereby secured his services at the usual rate of five percent for Government House (having already paid two and a half percent for the preparation of plans and other work by the firm of Mason and Clayton) and a reduced commission of only two and a half percent for buildings costing over £200. Since only the smallest government buildings erected by the Colonial Architect's Department would cost £200 or less, in practice most work would be paid for by commission,[84] an arrangement which recalls both James Pennethorne's conditions of employment in the Office of Works in England[85] and Mountfort and Luck's as Provincial Architects in Canterbury, New Zealand.[86]

At first it was envisaged that Clayton's duties would comprise the preparation of plans and specifications for all new buildings and

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[82]Also referred to as the Colonial Architect's Office.

[83]IA, 4, 24, p. 453a.

[84]Of the 59 works listed in Clayton's 1873 report to Parliament, for example, only three cost less than £200. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1874, E.-3, Appendix F.

[85]Pennethorne was a salaried architect and surveyor in the Office of Works while paying his own office expenses and receiving percentage fees for major new buildings. See Tyack, p. 159.

[86]Mountfort and Luck were appointed in 1857, and were paid on a percentage fee basis. See CH287, CP608c/12, National Archives, Christchurch.

works, supervising their construction and making additions and repairs to existing works and buildings. Responsibility for design and construction of some building-types was, however, later excluded from his work schedule. On 13 May 1869 (about the time Clayton took up his post) he was advised that unless instructed by the appropriate Minister his duties excluded work on lighthouses 'and other works in the marine engineers department', telegraphic works and works for defence purposes.[87] Nor, as events unfolded, was he to design railway stations. Conversely, some building-types not previously erected by the General Government - native schools, immigration depots and telegraph offices - were added to Clayton's workload. The range of works erected by Clayton's office nevertheless remained essentially the same as that of the Superintendents of Public Works of the 1840s: court houses, customs houses, departmental offices, police stations, post offices, gaols Government Houses and Parliament Buildings. Clayton was also, like the Superintendents of Public Works, responsible for maintenance of the Public Domains.

While the functions of Clayton's Department did not alter significantly after 1869, his conditions of employment were subject to periodic review and change. When Clayton reported that in the financial year 1869-70 he earned £1,161.11.0[88] (probably more than any other government employee)[89] moves were made to employ him on a fixed salary and on civil service conditions of employment which did not allow private practice.[90] Believing that the insecurity of his

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[87]IA, 4, 24, p. 600, Colonial Secretary to Clayton, 13 May 1869.

[88]IA, 3, register entry 70/1503.

[89]Certainly, it was more than any civil servant earned in 1871. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1872, G.-10, pp. 19-30. Comparative figures are not available for 1869-70.

[90]Clayton does not initially appear to have been regarded as a civil servant. He is not listed in *A.J.H.R.*, D.-42A ('Return of Appointments

tenure made it unwise to relinquish the contacts he had made in the private sector, Clayton fought against these initiatives. The ensuing 'battle' was to help define the character of the Colonial Architect's Office itself.

Forced, in 1871, to accept an appointment on a salary of £700,[91] Clayton continued to defend his right to private practice. In 1873, when criticised for providing quantities to a contractor tendering for Government railway work, Clayton threatened to resign rather than dispense with such private business on the grounds that

> Ministers are aware that on more than one occasion I have expressed myself dissatisfied with my position because of the uncertainty of the appointment, owing to Party feeling being so strongly exhibited on all occasions when the vote for my salary has been before Parliament.[92]

Clayton presented Ministers with two options should they decide that he should not be allowed private business. He would either carry on in a private capacity all the government work he was performing on a 'reduced commission' of two and a half percent, or take his chances in the profession, carrying out on usual charges (five percent) what work the Government would give him.[93] Faced with this ultimatum, Cabinet confirmed that it had no desire to interfere with Clayton's right to private practice. Clayton was not satisfied with this

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Made in the Civil Service of New Zealand Since the 30th June, 1869'); *ibid.*, 1870, D.-42 ('Nominal Roll of the Civil Establishment of New Zealand on the 1st July 1870') or *ibid.*, G.-28 ('Return of Appointments Made in the Civil Service of New Zealand Since the 30th June 1870'). He is, however, listed in published government records in 1872 when his appointment is said to date from 1 April 1869. See *ibid.*, 1872, G.-10 ('Report of the Actuary under the Civil Service Acts'), p. 20.

[91] *A.J.H.R.*, 1872, G.-10, p. 20.

[92] IA, 1, 73/629. Clayton believed that attacks on the vote for his salary were in part motivated by his association with Vogel. On the debate about his appointment see *N.Z.P.D.*, vol. 11, 1871, pp. 649-51 & for a summary of the contents of this debate, Rosslyn J. Noonan, *By Design: A Brief History of the Public Works Department, Ministry of Works 1870-1970*, Wellington, 1975, pp. 31-2.

[93] IA, 1, 73/269.

response and persisted with a request to perform 'the Government business in a private capacity'.[94] Cabinet refused to concede ground immediately but proposed that when the estimates were again under consideration the terms of Clayton's engagement would be reconsidered.[95]

When the issue was resolved Clayton's concerns about the insecurity of his tenure were not satisfied by allowing him further independence to act as an architect in private practice. Rather, his office became part of a newly-created Public Works Department. Clayton had earlier envisaged that he would be involved in public works when he offered, in 1869, to perform the duties of Director of Public Works in addition to those of Colonial Architect. However, in 1870 an Immigration and Public Works Department was established to administer Vogel's public works and immigration scheme,[96] rendering the post of Director of Public Works superfluous. In October 1873 Clayton's office was transferred to the new department as its Colonial Architect's Branch.[97] Under these new arrangements Clayton reported to the Public Works Department's Engineer-in-Chief but retained close control over the work of his own office.

Three years after his office became part of the Public Works Department, Clayton capitulated to the pressure to relinquish private practice, suffering a loss 'of not less than one thousand pounds'.[98]

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[94] *Ibid.*

[95] IA, 4, 30, letter 709, 22 May 1873.

[96] On the creation of the Public Works Department see Noonan, pp. 7-35. First known as the Immigration and Public Works Department, the department became known merely as the Public Works Department from 1872 when immigration became a separate ministry. See *ibid.*, p. 10.

[97] *New Zealand Government Gazette*, 23 October 1873, p. 602 & Crighton, 'William Henry Clayton: Colonial Architect', M.A. Thesis, p. 141.

[98] Ms-Papers 0178-091, Montagau-Pym to Vogel, A.T.L.

Behind the scenes he was working to increase his salary, revealing to Vogel that he intended trying hard in the coming session for £500 (presumably as a bonus) but had 'no answer from Mr Ormond as to allowing a small commission to be charged against the contingency clause of all contracts rather than ask for a higher salary'.[99] His family later claimed that he had been led to understand that 'as a recompense for losing private practice the Government would submit to the Assembly that his salary should be increased to nine hundred pounds per annum'.[100] Ultimately, however, he had won the security of tenure he had hoped to achieve both for himself and his office.

While politicians paid scant attention to overseas precedent when deciding on Clayton's terms of appointment, the parallels with overseas developments are striking. Clayton's appointment as a salaried architectural officer occurred while similar arrangements were being made for the appointment of an architectural officer to advise the First Commissioner of Works in London. Not since 1832 had the Office of Works in England 'retained an office specifically charged with design functions'.[101] The surveyor, Henry Hunt, had been appointed in 1856 to provide practical building advice on a part-time basis but it was not until 1869 that a newly-appointed Commissioner of Works, Austin Henry Layard, appointed the architectural writer James Fergusson (1808-86)[102] to advise on design, control estimates and supervise construction of crown

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[99] *Ibid.*, Clayton to Vogel, 27 May 1877, A.T.L.

[100] *Ibid.*, Montagau-Pym to Vogel, A.T.L.

[101] M. H. Port, 'A Contrast in Styles at the Office of Works. Layard and Ayrton: Aesthete and Economist', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 27, 1, March 1984, p. 152.

[102] On Fergusson see Nikolaus Pevsner, *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1972, pp. 238-51.

buildings.[103] When later that year Layard and then Fergusson departed, Layard's successor, Acton Smee Ayrton, worked to secure appointment of a professional architect.[104]

Yet whatever the parallels between British and New Zealand efforts to secure the appointment of a leading governmental architect from 1869, the models New Zealand politicians had in mind for Clayton's office were distinctly colonial in origin. An architect's office was a familiar part of the institutional framework of colonial government. When Clayton was appointed Colonial Architect of New Zealand in 1869 he became one of a small number of antipodean architects responsible for design and construction of government buildings, a group which included William Wardell (1823-99) in Victoria[105] and James Barnet (1827-1904) in New South Wales.[106] The incorporation of Clayton's office in a Public Works Department is

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[103]Although from 1859 to 1871 (Sir) James Pennethorne worked as a salaried architect and surveyor in the Offices of Works (and Woods and Forests) on existing Crown property, he would not comment on designs by other architects. He was appointed by the First Commissioner to design some government buildings without an open competition, the Public Records Office, London (1853-5), for example. Pennethorne charged on a commission basis for such work.

[104]Instead an engineer, Captain Douglas Strutt Galton, was appointed Director of Works. When Galton protested, in 1870, that he had not understood his appointment to be that of a professional architect, Ayrton pressed his case for an Assistant surveyor to provide architectural advice. See M. H. Port, 'A Regime for Public Buildings: Experiments in the Office of Works, 1869-75', *Design and Practice in British Architecture: Studies in Architectural History Presented to Howard Colvin, Architectural History,* Volume 27, 1984, p. 77.

[105]In March 1859 Wardell was appointed inspecting architect and chief architect in the Department of Works and Buildings and on 7 January 1861 was promoted inspector-general of public works. He was dismissed from his post in 1877. On Wardell see Ursula M. de Jong, *William Wilkinson Wardell, His Life and Work: 1823-1899* (Exhibition Catalogue), Clayton, Victoria, 1983, especially, pp. 16-23 & Ursula M. de Jong, 'From England to Australia: The Architecture of William Wilkinson Wardell (1823-99)', Ph.D. Thesis, Monash University, 1988.

[106]Barnet was Acting Colonial Architect between 1862 and 1864 and Colonial Architect between 1865 and 1890. On Barnet's work see Peter Bridges & Don McDonald, *James Barnet, Colonial Architect,* Sydney, 1988 & Peter Leggett Reynolds, 'The Evolution of the Government Architect's Branch of the New South Wales Department of Public Works 1788-1911', Ph.D. Thesis (Architecture), University of New South Wales, Sydney, 1972, chapter XIII.

likewise typical of architectural practice in the Australian colonies. An architect's office was, for example, an integral part of Western Australia's Public Works Department from 1876 when the department itself was established.[107]

Although aware of Australian developments, New Zealand politicians would have had more immediate experience of the small architectural offices of the provincial governments of colonial New Zealand itself. Clayton, too, would have been well aware of the architectural office which was part of the Otago Provincial Engineer's Department when he arrived in New Zealand in 1863. Though disestablished the year after his arrival,[108] in the financial year 1 April 1863 to 31 March 1864, it comprised an Assistant Architect (Armson) and at least two draughtsmen (Sanders[109] and Rumsey). Other staff were also connected with its work, including Inspectors of Public Buildings, Clerks of Works and the administrative staff who undertook clerical and accounting work for the Provincial Engineer's Department as a whole.[110] Temporary staff were taken on as required, John McGregor[111] as a draftsman in April 1863, for example.[112]

The administrative structure of the Colonial Architect's office was eventually to resemble that of the architectural section of the

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[107]See Barbara van Bronswijk, 'Illustrations of History: The Works and their Social Context', *Creating the Public Realm: Public Architecture in Western Australia* (Exhibition Catalogue), Perth, 1994, pp. 12-13.

[108]It was disestablished in 1864. For an account of its abolition see Linda Tyler, 'Armson's Early Career', *W. B. Armson: A Colonial Architect Rediscovered* (Ian J. Lochhead & Jonathan Mané, eds.) (Exhibition Catalogue), Christchurch, 1983, p. 8.

[109]OP, 7, 742, as recorded in OP, 9, 1.

[110]*Otago Provincial Gazette*, 29 June 1864, p. 210.

[111]On McGregor see Hardwick Knight & Niel Wales, *Buildings of Dunedin: An Illustrated Architectural Guide to New Zealand's Victorian City*, Dunedin, 1988, p. 162.

[112]See OP, 7, 1865.

Otago Provincial Government's Engineers Department more closely than that of any other New Zealand institution. Also part of a larger engineering department, it was to have a small 'core' staff supplemented by contract workers and ancillary clerical officers. Only slowly, however, did it evolve to conform to this model.

During the period 1869-73, when the Colonial Architect's Department was administered by the Colonial Secretary, staff were appointed for only short periods to meet fluctuating work demands. William Frederick Hubbard (?-1889), later appointed assistant to Thomas Cane (Provincial Architect of Canterbury from 1875-6), spent a brief period working for Clayton in 1871-2.[113] Thomas Turnbull (1825-1907) also worked in the office as an assistant in the early 1870s.[114]

When Clayton's office was transferred to the Public Works Department in 1873 the first permanent, 'core' staff were appointed, ensuring better continuity of office practice. Clayton had advertised for an articled pupil a year earlier,[115] without an appointment being made. When his office was transferred to the Public Works Department, his nephew, Alfred Clayton (1859-1913),[116] was appointed as a 'cadet', a governmental title for a 'pupil'. His

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[113]See CH287, ICPW 1897/7 on file 2651/1877, National Archives, Christchurch. According to Hubbard he prepared plans for additions to the Colonial Museum and 'was also engaged upon the plans of the new government buildings at Wellington', but left Clayton's office for a 'better appointment' in the Public Works Department of the Canterbury Provincial Government. See *ibid.*, & the MacDonald Biography on Hubbard, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch.

[114]*Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 1 (Wellington Provincial District), Wellington, 1897, p. 585.

[115]*New Zealand Times*, 20 February 1872, p. 1.

[116]See *A.J.H.R.*, 1874, H.-27, p. 7. Alfred resigned less than a year after W. H. Clayton's death. The Colonial Architect's letter book W51/2 contains the note '1 June 1878 Col Architect: resignation of A. Clayton'. Alfred Clayton went on to become a surveyor in Rotorua. See Ms Papers 2607, p. 15, A.T.L.

appointment would, it was believed, foster both the specialist skills necessary for the design of government buildings and ensure continuity in the office's work.[117] Although articled pupils would usually leave an architectural office shortly after completing their articles, it was anticipated that government cadets would continue to work indefinitely for the departments in which they trained.

In an attempt to further improve the efficiency of the office, Clayton also obtained approval for appointment of more senior permanent staff. He secured the services of an accountant, A. Gardner on 6 October 1873,[118] and was, in 1874, working to secure the appointment of professional architectural officers.[119] As a result, Charles Edward Beatson (1847-1927)[120] was appointed as an Assistant on 17 May that year[121] and, in September, Pierre Finch Martineau Burrows (1842-1920)[122] was engaged as an Assistant Draftsman.[123]

Neither Beatson nor Burrows had much experience in governmental work before their appointment, though Beatson had been employed in Clayton's office on two occasions before his engagement as an Assistant,[124] first from 1 February to 30 April 1871 and then from 19 April 1872 to 30 June 1873.[125] The younger son of the architect

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[117] In its early years the Public Works Department attempted to overcome a shortage of skilled labour by appointing cadets. Clayton was able to capitalise on this practice. On the Public Works Department's engineering cadets see Noonan, pp. 23 & 96.

[118] A cadet to the accountant was also appointed in the financial year 1874-5. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1875, E.-1, p. 69.

[119] W, 51, 2. Entry re. Clayton to Minister of Public Works, 30 March 1874.

[120] W, 14, 1. See also Mss 431, W. Beatson's Diary, p. 61, viz: '12 Sept (1869). C. E. s Birthday 23!' Nelson Provincial Museum, Stoke.

[121] W, 14, 1.

[122] 'Obituary', *Taranaki Herald*, 22 April 1920, p. 2.

[123] W, 14, 1 & *A.J.H.R.*, 1875, E.-3, p. 69.

[124] W, 14, 1.

[125] *Ibid.*

William Beatson (1807-70), he had worked mainly in his father's architectural office in Nelson, though in what capacity (whether office hand or articled pupil), is uncertain.[126] After his father's death in 1870, he completed Holy Trinity, Richmond to his father's designs[127] and made additions, in 1871, to All Saints, Nelson (begun in 1868), an Anglican church which had also been designed by his father. Following completion of these works, Beatson sought employment in Clayton's office.[128]

Unlike Beatson, Pierre Finch Martineau Burrows[129] did not have any connection with Clayton's office before his appointment as an Assistant. Born in Norwich, he arrived in New Zealand in 1865[130] with his elder brother, Arthur Washington Burrows (c.1836-1899).[131]

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[126]There are various entries in William Beatson's diary (Mss. 431, W. Beatson's Diary, Nelson Provincial Museum, Stoke) relating to Charles. Most refer to drafting work, eg. correcting a plan of bank made by 'C. E.' (p. 9), 'instructing C. E. about tinting elevations' (p. 22) & 'instructing C. E. about inking in &c.' (p. 38). See Ian Bowman, 'William Beatson: A Colonial Architect', B. Arch. Research Report, Victoria University of Wellington, 1982, p. 163.

[127]See Bowman, p. 164.

[128]After leaving Clayton's office, Beatson was in private practice in Wellington in 1887-8 and then returned to Nelson where he took up farming. Bowman notes that he designed a few buildings while farming of which 'only his own house survives'. Bowman, p. 171. His house is illustrated in *ibid.*, fig. 56. For a list of works Beatson designed while in private practice in 1888 see Bowman, pp. 181-2.

[129]Pierre's euphonious name reflects his Huguenot ancestry. Presumably it refers to the Martineau family of Norwich, notably Peter Finch Martineau, a descendant of Gaston Martineau, the first Martineau to settle in the county. On the Martineau family see Walter Rye, *Norfolk Families*, Norwich, 1913, p 537.

[130]*New Zealand Herald*, 5 January 1865, p. 3.

[131]The death certificates for both Pierre and Arthur Burrows, held by the Registrar-General, Lower Hutt, contain scanty and probably incorrect information. The certificate for Arthur states that his father was Arthur Washington Burrows and his mother, Margaret Burrows (née Hall). Pierre's death certificate states that his father was George Crisp Burrows (occupation unknown); his mother's christian and maiden names are not stated. However, despite the inconsistencies, according to family information, Arthur and Pierre were brothers. Correspondence with Mr Dudley M. Burrows, New Plymouth, March 1994 & Mr Chris Rush, Tauranga, November 1993. Arthur and Pierre are described as brothers in the *Bay of Plenty Times*, 28 August 1899 (transcript held by Dudley M. Burrows, New Plymouth).

Arthur claimed that he had been 'engaged in the profession in some of the first architectural offices in England',[132] acquiring 'a practical knowledge of Architecture and experience in constructional detail'[133] and later conducting 'business for himself in the Eastern Counties'.[134] Pierre may well have done likewise.[135] Once in New Zealand, both Arthur and Pierre Burrows established careers as architects.[136]

Like Beatson, Pierre was only briefly in private practice. In May 1874 Clayton received a letter from him seeking employment and enclosing references.[137] Appointed later that year, he soon outranked Beatson in the office hierarchy. When Clayton toured the South Island in 1876 he left instructions that the 'Professional part of [the] office was to be conducted by Mr Burrows'.[138] A year later, when Clayton died, the office was managed first by Burrows and then, when Burrows was made redundant in April 1884, by Beatson. For both

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[132]Handwritten draft of (newspaper?) advertisement, held by Mr Dudley M. Burrows, New Plymouth.

[133]*Ibid.*

[134]*Ibid.*

[135]Conversation and correspondence with Mr Dudley M. Burrows, New Plymouth, March and June 1994. Pierre Burrows' 1866 marriage certificate, held by the Registrar General, Lower Hutt, records his profession as surveyor reflecting his occupation at that date and possibly his principal professional training.

[136]Between September and December 1865 tender notices for various villas (and for additions to the Army and Naval Hotel, Upper Queen Street, Auckland) were inserted in the *New Zealand Herald* by 'Cameron and Burrows'. Probably Arthur rather than Pierre was the 'Burrows' of the partnership - the tender notices cease in 1866 when Arthur shifted to Tauranga and T. B. Cameron began inserting tender notices under his own name. See Terence Hodgson's list of tender notices, Wellington. Pierre began calling tenders for architectural works in 1872, notably for the simple timber Gothic Church of St. Luke, Mt Albert (1872). See Nora Schubert (ed.), *Church of St Luke 1872-1972* [Auckland, 1972]. He also called tenders for a brick shop, Queen Street (May 1873), brick dwelling, Lorne Street (June 1873), 'premises', Wellington Street (November 1873) & 6 shops, Queen Street, (January 1874). (Terence Hodgson's list of tender notices, Wellington.)

[137]See W, 51, 2.

[138]*Ibid.* He reported that he had made this tour in the financial year 1875-6. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1876, E.-1, Appendix E, p. 71.

architects, the office provided a measure of job security. Inevitably, too, it shaped their approach towards architecture.

Despite the appointment of Burrows and Beatson, Clayton continued to employ some temporary professional staff[139] as well as numerous administrative officers. Scrappy and incomplete annotations in his letter book refer to 'Orme' and 'Czerwonka' among others.[140] The trend was nevertheless towards appointment of permanent officers in all areas of the office's work. Staff were appointed to permanent posts to look after the Domains in 1875,[141] for example, and Clayton made more lasting arrangements for construction of government buildings by tapping the resources of the Public Works Department. Before his office was transferred to the Department he employed 'builders (or architects when obtainable) as inspectors to see that the specifications and plans are fully carried out'[142] in 'country work' and works in distant towns. After the transferral, the department's District Engineers were able to undertake general inspection of new works, supplemented by 'local inspection by officers temporarily appointed'.[143]

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[139]Edward Gell, for example, was appointed in October 1870 and again in April 1875. In each case he was employed for 'special work' for four months and left on its completion. See W, 14, 2.

[140]W, 51, 2.

[141]In the 1872-3 financial year Clayton reported that he had performed the work of Inspector of the Domains for the preceding eighteen months since that officer had been 'dispensed with'. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1873, H.-4, p. 2. By July 1875 some permanent domains' staff had been appointed and Clayton had found that by systematically moving them around 'the domains could be kept in great improvement upon the contract system'. See *ibid.*, 1875, E.-3, Appendix E, p. 69-70. From 1 July 1873 a jobbing carpenter was employed to maintain government buildings in Wellington. *Ibid.*, 1873, H.-4, p. 2.

[142]*Ibid.*

[143]*Ibid.*, 1874, E.-3, Appendix F, p. 67. Even in the appointment of temporary officers to inspect work some measure of continuity of employment is discernible. Uriah Hurrell, for example, first appointed to inspect work in Auckland on 16 June 1873, was later engaged to undertake work in Lyttelton (on 23 November 1873), Dunedin (on 11 March 1876) and Christchurch (in April 1876). See W, 14, 3.

The General Government's appointment of an Agent-General in London, to assist implementation of Vogel's public works and immigration scheme, increased the resources of Clayton's office in very different ways. A quasi-diplomatic and commercial government officer,[144] the Agent-General had direct access to information about governmental architecture in Britain. He forwarded to Clayton 'a copy of Mr Well's report on the Immigration Depot, Blackwall',[145] 'Blue Books' containing plans of 'all the latest prisons in England and Ireland'[146] and presumably, in 1875, obtained the plans of Wormwood Scrubs Prison, East London (1873-85),[147] that Clayton requested that year.[148] Thus, already well-informed about architectural developments in Britain via the *Builder* and other publications, Clayton and his staff also, from 1871, had direct access to information about British developments in its specialist fields of design.

Vogel's growing commitment to the creation of a centralised and unified colony was thus matched by the evolution of a centrally-based, outward-looking and increasingly professional architectural office in Wellington. Although it resembled the small architectural offices of the more prosperous provinces (notably Otago), it nevertheless had its own distinctive institutional character. Just as Clayton developed his own approach towards design of government

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[144]See Dalziel, p. 115 & Noonan, p. 262.

[145]See W, 51, 2, entry no. 97, 28 August 1874.

[146]*A.J.H.R.*, 1876, E.-1, Appendix E, p. 70.

[147]See IA, 3, register entry 75/3594.

[148]In 1994 plans for Wormwood Scrubs Prison, Essex, were in 1994 held by the Justice Department, Wellington. See the inventory of Justice Department plans prepared by Wayne Nelson, New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington.

buildings, so he shaped his architectural office as he believed best suited the specialised tasks he was charged with carrying out.

The Works

Although Clayton and his office succeeded in expressing through architecture the colonial unity Vogel hoped to create through construction of a rail and road network, his works are widely differing in architectural character. On the one hand, Clayton built simple timber Gothic buildings which, at least on first inspection, resemble those of Thatcher's earlier ecclesiologically-inspired works; on the other, he erected Italianate timber buildings clad to imitate stone. Construction of a coherent architectural image of government using such a diverse and eclectic range of architectural forms was an unlikely prospect. Nevertheless, by using only a limited number of plans (virtually a kit of designs) and a limited range of elements for each design (a kit of parts), Clayton achieved a unity of architectural expression never before seen in government architecture in New Zealand.

ii. The Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington (1871-3)

The largest and most important of Clayton's works were built in Wellington to accommodate Parliament and the civil service. From
50. 1865 Parliament met in the former Wellington Provincial Government Buildings (appropriated by the General Government that year), while civil servants found office space where they could - in practice, either alongside Parliament in the former Provincial Government Buildings, in various ad-hoc additions to the buildings or in rented

accommodation. None of these arrangements was considered satisfactory. Accordingly Clayton was engaged from 1870 in various works to improve the accommodation for both Parliament and the civil service.

Additions had been made to the west of the original carpenter
51. Gothic Wellington Provincial Government Buildings following their appropriation by Parliament in 1865. The most notable were designed by Rumsey as part of a larger project intended to include a new House
55. of Representatives.[149] While these additions were being made concern was growing about the structural condition of the Provincial Government Buildings themselves. Reports about their structural condition acted as a catalyst for a wide-ranging review of parliamentary accommodation.

First in 1870 and then in 1872, Clayton reported on the condition of the buildings. In his assessment there were some inherent structural weaknesses in the original design but the main problem was the deterioration of 30 percent of the floor joists, all the rafters, the ceiling joists and sarking. The rate of deterioration was rapid. Three rafters of a sample of fifteen were infected with dry rot in 1870; by 1872 the number of infected rafters in the same sample had increased to eleven.[150] According to Clayton, by about 1874 the strength of the timber frame of the building would be reduced to about half that of the structure when first erected, a condition he defined as structurally unsound.[151]

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[149]See chapter three, pp. 167-8.

[150]See *A.J.H.R.*, 1872, G.-11.

[151]*Ibid.*, 1870, D.-6, p. 4.

After making his first report on the structural condition of the buildings in 1870 Clayton was asked by the Colonial Secretary to recommend a course of action to improve Parliament's accommodation.[152] Clayton's attention turned quickly from purely structural concerns to aesthetic ones. In his view, 'any future building should form part of a general and comprehensive design'.[153] Rumsey's partially built project for a new House of Representatives and associated offices could form part of such a structure. Clayton recommended its completion, as well as subdivision of the existing House of Representatives in the former Provincial Government Buildings and 'the addition of six rooms'.[154] Further, in his view, the Government should consider the replacement of all of the former Provincial Government Buildings. After preparing a 'hasty sketch' for a replacement building, he reported that 'all the Departments can be provided for if a building were erected in harmony with Mr. Rumsey's design' and 'much of the centre part [the additions to the former Provincial Government Buildings] worked in'.[155]

The drawing he prepared for the South Elevation, depicts this proposal; the western end of the south elevation shows Rumsey's
52b. full project as redraughted and possibly reworked by Clayton. The entrance tower shown at the west end of the south elevation
37. resembles the tower in Rumsey's 1866 perspective for the Supreme

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[152] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[153] *Ibid.*

[154] *Ibid.*

[155] *Ibid.*

Court House, Auckland, and the arrangement of the various blocks of offices around the principal tower in an approximate symmetry is characteristic of Rumsey's approach towards composition.

The east (Molesworth Street) elevation has a somewhat different
52a. character and is almost certainly Clayton's own design for a building to replace the former Provincial Government Buildings created 'in harmony with Mr Rumsey's design'. It incorporates some of the elements used by Rumsey (pavilion roofs, for example) but has an underlying symmetry characteristic of Clayton's works. The ultimate inspiration is Scott's 1857 Foreign Office design which both Clayton and Rumsey would have known, but a more immediate source was the Armagh Street elevation (1859-60) of Benjamin Mountfort's Provincial Council Buildings, Christchurch,[156] doubtless also well-known to Clayton and Rumsey.

In 1871 one small part of Clayton's project was built, the
53. 'South Wing', the three-storey pavilion at the south-east corner of Clayton's drawing of the south elevation. As late as August 1871, when the wing was completed, it was reported that the rest of Clayton's project for the south elevation would be built.[157] The following year it was decided instead to enlarge the existing House of Representatives located in the former Provincial Government
54. Buildings (adjacent to the new South Wing) and to build a new Legislative Council Chamber at the west end of the existing structures (on the land on which it was previously proposed to build Rumsey's House of Representatives). Contracts for this work were let

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[156]For an illustration see Terence Hodgson, *Looking at the Architecture of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1990, pp. 4-5.

[157]*New Zealand Mail*, 12 August 1871, p. 6.

in December 1872[158] and completed in time for the July 1873 session of Parliament.

When completed the Parliamentary Buildings had an additive character typical of New Zealand's larger government buildings and
55. expressive of the piecemeal development of the complex itself. Through the use of the Gothic style the buildings made reference to the Houses of Parliament Westminster, though their construction in timber immediately revealed their colonial origins. In so far as Clayton's additions were of a more regular outline than those Rumsey intended to build, and only a limited range of forms were used (notably lancet and square headed windows to standard sizes and designs), they prefigure many of the works the Colonial Architect's Office built using the 'kit of parts' approach.

Doubtless Clayton hoped to reconstruct further parts of the Parliamentary Buildings. Shortly after construction of the South
56. Wing he prepared another project for replacing the former Provincial Government Buildings. Had this project been erected, the complex would have had a polygonal entrance foyer with a porte-cochère as the principal entrance and a nodal point similar in conception (though not in elevation) to the Central Hall of the Houses of Parliament, Westminster.[159] Despite Clayton's call for adherence to a 'general and comprehensive design', Parliament again failed to carry out this, or any other, overall scheme for the development of the buildings.[160]

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[158]Separate tenders were called for a new Legislative Council Chamber, enlargement of the House of Representatives and additions and alterations to the old Legislative Council Chamber in *Evening Post*, 3 December 1872, p. 3.

[159]M. H. Port (ed.), *The Houses of Parliament*, London, 1976, monochrome plate 66 (p. 107) shows the location of the central lobby in the (1843) plan of the principal floor of the Houses of Parliament, Westminster. For a view of the central lobby see colour plate III (p. 144).

[160]Successive ministries continued to make various ad-hoc additions through until 1907 when all the timber parts of the complex were destroyed by fire.

To the extent that Clayton did succeed in imposing some sense of symmetry and uniformity of detailing on a complex of irregular plan and massing, the buildings reflect his own aesthetic preferences. They are, however, more fully reflected in his next major Wellington work, the General Government Offices.

iii. The General Government Offices, Wellington (1873-6)

Almost immediately after completion of the Legislative Council Chamber and enlargements to the House of Representatives, it was decided that the Parliamentary Buildings could serve only for the two houses of Parliament and the officials of the legislature. An entirely new building would, it was argued, be required for the civil service. Clayton was doubtless disappointed that none of his Gothic projects for the Parliamentary Buildings would be completed but his disappointment was more than compensated for by the opportunity to construct a new office building entirely of his own design.

His first sketch plans for the new government offices were prepared for a building estimated to cost £16,000 for a site on Molesworth Street.[161] Although the designs do not survive, all the available evidence suggests that they were for a building with a central entrance tower.[162] Work on them was abandoned when the Provincial Government offered an alternative site for the building, an unreclaimed area of the harbour almost directly opposite Clayton's Government House. Once this new site was offered, Clayton prepared a

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On the destruction of the Parliamentary Buildings by fire see chapter seven, pp. 316-7.

[161] *A.J.H.R.*, 1874, E-3, Appendix F, p. 67 & Ian Bowman, *Government Buildings Conservation Plan* [Wellington], 1992, p. 2.

[162] See W, 16, map register entry for P.W.D. 12206 which refers to a building with a tower. P.W.D. 12207 may also be related to this project.

'hurried sketch' for a building which would provide some 'increased accommodation that was found to be wanting'.[163] In the process he discovered that an increased vote of £7,000 would be required to construct the building. The original estimate of £16,000 had already been voted, however, and could not be readily increased.[164]

In November 1873 Clayton called tenders for reclaiming the land and alternative tenders for construction of the building on the new
57. site in either timber or concrete.[165] The move precipitated debate about whether the General Government offices should be erected in timber or 'permanent' materials, a debate which revealed much about the economics of, and Clayton's attitudes towards, the construction of timber government buildings in New Zealand. When contractors discovered that the Government was considering building a large timber building, saw-mill proprietors advertised an increase in the price of timber, carpenters struck for a 2s. per day increase in wages and 'the labour market generally became so disturbed that high tenders were looked for'.[166] The tenders received for construction of the building were therefore considerably higher than both the original estimate of £16,000 and the revised estimate of £23,000. The lowest tender received for concrete construction was £40,900; for timber £29,975.[167] All were declined in December 1873.

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[163] *A.J.H.R.*, 1874, E.-3, Appendix F, p. 67. Bowman, pp. 2-3.

[164] *Ibid* & Bowman, p. 3.

[165] See W, 1, 24/392, Part 0/1; tender notice, *New Zealand Government Gazette*, 13 November 1873, p. 634; Bowman, p. 2 & Christopher Cochran, 'Capital City Buildings', *Historic Buildings in New Zealand, North Island* (Frances Porter, ed.), Auckland, 1979, p. 239.

[166] *Ibid.*

[167] *Ibid.*, & Cochran, p. 239.

Notwithstanding the inflationary pressures generated by calling tenders, the Government became committed to timber construction. As politicians saw it, the threat of earthquakes precluded the use of masonry, and it was, in any case, too expensive. Clayton disagreed. In his view, masonry should be used to reduce the threat of fire to government records. It was now possible, he asserted, to build masonry structures which would withstand all but the most serious earthquakes. The fact that Wellington had been subjected to earthquakes was not, in his opinion, 'a sufficient reason to limit the chief materials of all buildings to timber'.[168] According to Clayton, Wellington should not be singled out from other New Zealand towns; 'Are not Christchurch and Dunedin also liable to similar shocks?' he asked. In support of his arguments, he observed (some 30 years before the devastation of the 1906 San Francisco earthquake) that in that city 'buildings many stories high are constructed of brick, stone or concrete'.[169]

Clayton was not alone in expounding such views. Having spent a decade working in San Francisco (1861-71), Thomas Turnbull also promoted the construction of masonry buildings in Wellington; he was almost certainly Clayton's informant about American architectural practice. During the course of his career in Wellington, Turnbull was responsible for brick buildings erected 'on the American principle of construction [which] showed no signs of being affected by the shakes'.[170] In addition, Christian Julius Toxward (1831-91)

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[168] *A.J.H.R.*, 1874, E.-3, Appendix F, p. 67 & Bowman, pp. 3-4.

[169] *Ibid.*

[170] 'Turnbull, Thomas', *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 1 (Wellington Provincial District), Wellington, 1897, p. 585.

may have influenced Clayton's thinking;[171] in 1875 Toxward built the first masonry buildings in Wellington since the 1848 earthquake, a bonded store, and office and warehouse, for Jacob Joseph and Company.

In the long view, Clayton's efforts to have the General Government Offices built in masonry contributed to acceptance of its use in Wellington. At the time, however, scepticism about masonry construction was such that Clayton was unable to persuade the Government to erect the Government Offices in either brick or concrete. The contractors Scoular and Archibald were even so hesitant about the use of concrete that their tender for building the General Government Offices using the material was qualified; 'This tender don't take the risk against earth shakes nor foundation giving. P.S. Nor with regard to time'.[172]

Tenders were again called for construction of the building in January 1875 but they were for timber only. Despite the earlier difficulties, construction proceeded smoothly. The contract was awarded to Scoular and Archibald, the 'cautious tenderers for a concrete building a year earlier',[173] and building began in early 1875. Construction was rapid by colonial New Zealand standards. The offices were largely completed by December 1876 when they were almost fully occupied.[174]

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[171]On Toxward see Chris Cochran, 'Toxward, Christian Julius 1831-91', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume Two: 1870-1900* (Claudia Orange, gen. ed.), Wellington, 1993, pp. 546-7. Clayton worked for Toxward in 1876. He called tenders that year which were 'to be received at the office of Mr Toxward'. See *Evening Post*, 25 October 1876, p. 4 & 26 October 1876, p. 3.

[172]See W, 1, 24/392, part 0/1 & Cochran, 'Capital City Buildings', p. 239.

[173]*Ibid.*

[174]The Audit Department moved into the buildings in May, the part of the building they were to occupy being 'pushed ahead' because the rooms in which the Audit Department was located in the Public Buildings were required for other purposes. See *New Zealand Mail*, 20 May 1876, p. 15. The grounds were being laid out in August (See *ibid.*, 18 August 1877, p. 15) and the building was reported as being almost complete in November, see

Though forced to give way on the use of concrete, Clayton was not prepared to compromise on the appearance of the facades. In fact, throughout the debate about whether timber or masonry should be used, it was widely assumed that the facades would be articulated to resemble stone. Clayton's sketches for the building depict the walls
58. in a grey tint, suggestive of both the concrete and brick and plaster
59. construction he preferred. It was, however, assumed by Clayton, contractors and politicians alike, that the building could readily be erected in either concrete or timber, and that whichever material was chosen the facades would imitate stone. Thus, although the upper
60. floors of the building have rusticated cladding rather than the smooth, ashlar surfaces shown in the contract drawings, in virtually all other details the facades faithfully replicate in timber the forms Clayton hoped would be built in concrete. The emphasis was on the construction of a building which presented an appropriate architectural image for the Government regardless of the method or material of construction.

By virtue of the size of the building alone it represents a high-point in the practice of using timber weatherboarding to imitate stone.[175] A four storey structure with an 'H' plan,[176] the General Government Offices originally measured '225 feet [68.62 metres] by a

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ibid., 11 November 1876, p. 15. Various departments had moved into the building by 2 December that year and it was anticipated that in 'a day or two... everything in the new buildings [will be] in perfect working order'. See *ibid.*, 2 December, p. 14. See also Cochran, p. 239 & Bowman, pp. 4-5.

[175]Also like Mason's buildings, it has been criticised as a sham. See, for example, S. Hurst Seager, 'Architectural Art in New Zealand', *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. VII, no. 19, September 1900, p. 482. Seager describes the General Government Offices as a 'notable, and lamentable, instance of the use of wood for a public building'.

[176]A site office for the Colonial Architect was built between the rear wings of the building. Designs for the office (W, 15, P.W.D. 12213) are dated 1874. Intended to be temporary, it remained on site after completion of the General Government Offices, being used by various government institutions. It was demolished in 1925.

depth of 130 feet [39.6 metres] at the wings'.[177] The *New Zealand Mail* was, in 1876, probably the first to publish the often repeated claim that the structure is 'the largest timber building in the world'.[178] Certainly, by virtue of its size, the building symbolised the centralisation of government Vogel sought to create.

Despite the size of the General Government Offices, the method of construction was entirely conventional. As a result of inflation in the cost of indigenous timber the Government took the controversial decision, on the advice of the merchants Beck and Tonks, to import Tasmanian hardwood for the frame of the building.[179] The decision had some further consequences. Clayton first proposed that studs should rise through two stories, suggesting that he had in mind a form of American balloon frame construction. However, the Tasmanian timber suppliers found that they were unable to supply timber of sufficient length to erect the building in this way and negotiated to supply studs for the individual floors.[180] As a result, Clayton was compelled to use platform frame construction, the

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[177]*New Zealand Mail*, 18 March 1876, p. 15. In 1897 additions were made to the south wing (52000 square feet) [approx. 1520 sq. m.] on the (east) harbour side of the building (see Bowman, p. 6.), and in 1907 to the harbour side of the north wing. See W, 1, 24/392, Part 0/2 & Bowman, p. 6. The additions were designed to a floor plan suggested in 1896 by Premier Richard John Seddon. See W, 1, 24/392, Part 0/1, Memo from Premier's Office, also quoted in Bowman, p. 5.

[178]*New Zealand Mail*, 18 March 1876, p. 15. Whether the *New Zealand Mail* was referring to the floor area, the 'footprint' of the building or length of its principal facades is not clear. On the comparative size of timber buildings throughout the world see Bowman, p. 57.

[179]The *New Zealand Mail*, 14 November 1874, p. 18, reported the *Wanganui Chronicle* as stating 'Is it quantity, or quality, or variety, or one and all of these things together that is at fault on the present occasion, and which reduced the Government to bringing coals to Newcastle?'

[180]There are some cast-iron columns in the original building and in additions of 1897 and 1907. See Bowman, p. 56.

frame of the building, in any case, being jointed rather than skew nailed in the balloon frame tradition.[181]

Regardless of the method of construction, stone buildings in Britain, as much as timber ones in America, influenced the design. Ultimately, the model was William Chambers' Somerset House, London (1776-80, wings completed 1835 & 1856/7), the 'first purpose-built government office block in London',[182] a building 'Recommended by Victorian MPs as an appropriately sober model for new government buildings'[183] in Britain. Though the scale, method of construction and detailing of Chambers' and Clayton's buildings do not bear comparison, the visual concept of 'a long, low, white palace'[184] situated adjacent to the Thames was influential. Conceptually, at least, the General Government Offices were a timber 'palace' on the Wellington harbour front. Clayton would also have had in mind Scott's Foreign (1853-68), Colonial and Home Offices (1868-78). The General Government Offices lack the monumental grandeur of those buildings but Scott's works nevertheless provided a powerful precedent for the use of an Italianate style.

In spite of these precedents, in many ways the offices recall the brick and plaster Italianate of British terrace housing. In an effort to contain costs, Clayton used a relatively limited range of building elements. Sash windows of a standard range of sizes, Doric porticos to a standard design and standard four-panelled doors are

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[181]Studs and plates are morticed and tenoned. The timber was 'sawn, moulded, and mortised on the ground', machines for this work being 'placed under convenient sheds and driven by steam power'. See *New Zealand Mail*, 23 October 1873, p. 13.

[182]M. H. Port, *Imperial London: Civil Government Building in London, 1851-1915*, New Haven, 1995, p. 36.

[183]*Ibid.*

[184]John Newman, *Somerset House: Splendour and Order*, London, 1990, p. 23.

used, for example. If Clayton harboured any aspirations to create the kind of rich decorative effects of Scott's governmental buildings they are revealed only in the central lobby and hall 'lined with fancy New Zealand woods',[185] a pale evocation (whether intended or not) of the nationalist decorative programmes of Mountfort's project for Government House and Rumsey's Supreme Court House and Post Office and Customs House, Auckland.

Even in a New Zealand context, Clayton's building could still be described as 'plain in design'.[186] In Wellington an increasing number of commercial buildings erected in the 1870s had ornate timber facades which imitated masonry construction, Toxward's New Zealand Insurance Company Offices, corner Lambton Quay and Grey Street (1872)[187] and AMP building, corner Featherston and Hunter Streets (1877),[188] for example. More restrained than these works, the General Government Offices were also distinguished by the Royal Crest over the central pediment, included for the first time on a government office building in New Zealand.[189]

iv. The Larger General Government Buildings (1873-7)

Soon the architectural image the offices presented would itself be considered emblematic of the Government's presence. Through the

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[185] *New Zealand Mail*, 18 March 1876, p. 15.

[186] *Ibid.*

[187] For an illustration and brief account of the building see Terence Hodgson, *Colonial Capital, Wellington 1865-1910*, Auckland, 1990, p. 79.

[188] See *ibid.*

[189] A crest had probably been incorporated in the rudimentary pediment over the entrance to the prefabricated Government House, Auckland (1841 onwards) and was included in the central pediment of Mason's Government House, Auckland (1855-6).

construction of the building Italianate classicism became the preferred architectural language for General Government buildings. The image was reinforced and enhanced by the construction of departmental office buildings throughout the

62. colony which also had an 'H' plan. Though the detailing varies,

63. government office buildings were erected in Tauranga (1873-5),[190]

64. Gisborne (1876)[191] and New Plymouth (1877-9) which resemble the General Government Offices, Wellington.[192] The Wellington General Government Offices were also the model for the Napier Supreme Court House (1873-5)[193] and the brick Invercargill Government Buildings, one wing of which was completed by 1875.[194] In the Government

65. Buildings, Market Square, Blenheim (1877-8),[195] Clayton even realised his ambitions for the General Government Offices, securing approval for erection of the offices in monolithic concrete.

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[190]See *A.J.H.R.*, 1874, E.-3, Appendix F, p. 69. Plans were registered in W, 16 as P.W.D. 15313 but they have not been located at either National Archives or Works Consultancy, Wellington. The foundation stone was laid on 24 April 1874. See W. H. Gifford & H. Bradney Williams, *A Centennial History of Tauranga*, Wellington, 1940, p. 336. Construction was completed in September 1875, see *ibid.*, p. 336 & *A.J.H.R.*, 1875, E.-3, Appendix E, pp. 69-70. The building was destroyed by fire in November 1902. See Gifford & Williams, p. 336.

[191]*A.J.H.R.*, 1878, E.-1, Appendix J, p. 77.

[192]The first piles were driven in July 1877 (see *Taranaki Herald*, 12 July 1877, p. 2) and 'All the departments of the Government' were reported to be in the building in early 1879 (see *ibid.*, 8 February 1879, p. 2).

[193]Tender notice, *New Zealand Government Gazette*, 4 December 1873, p. 668. Sittings were held in the building from 31 May 1875. See Mike Kelly, 'The Old Napier Courthouse' (Draft Research Report for Conservation Plan), Wellington, 1993.

[194]The contract had been entered into by 27 July 1875. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1875, E.-3, p. 70. On the completion of the contract, see *ibid.*, 1876, E.-1, Appendix E, p. 70. Major additions, including the tower (of incongruous design), were made in 1893, see *Southland Times*, 8 August 1893, p. 3.

[195]Tender notice, *Evening Post*, 17 January 1877, p. 3. The Architect's Office was advised on 16 November 1878 that the contract was finished. See W, 51, 2. The clock turret was a later (1883) addition designed by Burrows. See W, 15, P.W.D. 14469, 19/28. The building was demolished in the 1960s. See Geoffrey Thornton, *Cast in Concrete: Concrete Buildings in New Zealand 1850-1939*, Auckland, 1996, p. 55.

In all of these sober and restrained Italianate buildings - the Blenheim Government Buildings included - the architectural message of governmental authority was again expressed using a relatively limited range of classical forms, principally hip and gable roofs, large eaves brackets, quoins and arched and square headed window and door openings, much the same 'kit of parts' used in the design of the General Government Offices, Wellington.

As a governmental infrastructure became established more monumental buildings which incorporated other forms were erected in some towns. Clayton adopted a number of approaches towards their
66. design. The Dunedin Telegraph Office (1875-6)[196] and Napier Post and
67. Telegraph Office (1875-6)[197] illustrate two of the more distinctive. In both, Clayton introduces pilasters and half-columns (not previously used in his designs for government buildings) to articulate facades designed to reflect and contribute to the distinctive architectural character of the towns in which they were built. In Dunedin, the corner facade is treated as a temple front, an architectural allusion appropriate in a Scottish settlement perceived by some to be the 'Edinburgh of the South'. By contrast, in the seaside town of Napier, Clayton built a monumental Renaissance palazzo which reinforced and contributed to the then predominantly classical architectural imagery of the commercial centre of the Victorian town.[198]

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[196]See *A.J.H.R.*, 1875, E.-3, Appendix E, p. 69; ibid., 1876, E.-1, Appendix E, p. 70 (regarding the creation of fresh designs) & Crighton, 'William Henry Clayton: Colonial Architect', M.A. Thesis, pp. 115-6, quoting the *Southern Mercury*, 8 May 1875.

[197]*A.J.H.R.*, 1876, E.-1, Appendix E, p. 70.

[198]The commercial centre of Napier was almost completely destroyed in 1931 by an earthquake and the ensuing fires. The town was subsequently rebuilt in a variety of American-inspired architectural styles, predominantly Art Deco. See Peter Shaw & Peter Hallett, *Art Deco Napier: Styles of the Thirties*, Napier, second edition 1990.

Clayton's Canterbury works likewise have a distinctive regional
68. inflection. While the Government Buildings erected in Lyttelton
69. (1874-5)[199] and Christchurch (1877-9)[200] recall the General Government Offices, Wellington, they are distinguished both by their construction in brick (relieved with cement dressings) and the Venetian Gothic elements of their facades. Doubtless Clayton considered a Gothic inflection appropriate for the Canterbury region. One of the principal Christchurch-based exponents of the Venetian Gothic style, William Armson, was, in 1873-5, building the impressive Venetian Gothic style Borough School in Lyttelton. Moreover, in 1876-7, a substantial Gothic Railway Station was being built in Christchurch by the Public Works Department which, though recognisably governmental, was 'quite removed from the usual run of official ideas on the subject, and more in keeping with other Gothic buildings' in the city.[201] As Clayton would also have been aware, construction of George Gilbert Scott's Christchurch Cathedral (1864-1904) in an eclectic, thirteenth-century English and French Gothic style was under way almost immediately opposite the site designated for the Christchurch Government Building,[202] and Maxwell Bury's

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[199]Tender notice, *Evening Post*, 17 January 1874, p. 3. See also *A.J.H.R.*, 1875, E.-3, Appendix E, p. 70 & *ibid.*, 1876, E.-1, Appendix E, p. 70.

[200]Tender notice, *Evening Post*, 12 February 1877, p. 4. The post office opened in the building 30 July 1879. See *Press*, 15 July 1879, p. 3. Sketch designs had been prepared as early as the 1875-6 financial year. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1876, E.-1, Appendix E, p. 70. It is suggested in various publications that Burrows was largely responsible for the building (see, for example, Stacpoole, *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand*, p. 134). This is incorrect. The building was designed under Clayton's aegis. The one surviving drawing for the building, a first floor plan (W, 15, P.W.D. 15312), is signed by Clayton.

[201]J. D. Mahoney, *Down at the Station: A Study of the New Zealand Railway Station*, Palmerston North, 1987, p. 45.

[202]The relationship between Christchurch's Government Buildings and their architectural setting is discussed in Thelma Strongman, 'From Plain to Square: The Architectural History of Cathedral Square, Christchurch, as an Urban Space 1850-1974', M.A. Thesis (Art History), University of Canterbury, 1994, p. 40. See also Local History Group, Canterbury Branch,

Torlesse Building (1864) had earlier been built in a Gothic style adjacent to the site. Even after Clayton's death, Venetian Gothic was the preferred architectural style for government buildings in
70. Canterbury; Charles Beatson designed a Venetian Gothic Post and Telegraph Office for the Canterbury town of Rangiora in 1887[203] when classical government buildings were routinely erected in other provinces.

Although the buildings erected at Rotorua, Dunedin, Napier, Lyttleton and Christchurch clearly originated from the same office, they were, according to Burrows, 'special designs'.[204] In some of them the standard detailing had been modified by Clayton and his staff in response to the setting in which the buildings were erected (as at Christchurch and Lyttelton); in others the approach was different in kind - as at Dunedin.

By contrast, the government buildings erected in the smaller towns in the provinces were built to a 'kit' of standard designs used almost indiscriminately. Many of them combined a residence for government officials and a public office in a single structure. As a result, they had a vernacular, domestic character which distinguishes them from the larger works built in the main centres. It was, nevertheless, through their construction that the General Government

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NZ Federation of University Women, *Round the Square: A History of Christchurch's Cathedral Square*, Christchurch, 1995, pp. 63-5.

[203]The plans, P.W.D. 14624, were registered in W, 16 with the date 14.2.87. On the construction of the building see D. N. Hawkins, *Rangiora: The Passing Years and People in a Canterbury Country Town*, Christchurch, 1983, p. 269.

[204]IA, 1, 82/206. Burrows to Engineer in Charge, Dunedin, 19 January 1881, referring to designs he had selected for exhibition at the Geographical Exhibition and Congress in Venice, 1881. None of the drawings was exhibited. *The Times,* noted 'a very fine telegraph map from New Zealand' but made no mention of architectural drawings from the colony. See *The Times*, 13 September 1881 on *ibid.*

first established a distinctive visual presence in smaller communities.

v. The Smaller General Government Buildings in Provincial Towns (1869-77)

The simplest and smallest of the provincial government buildings consist of a timber structure with a rectangular plan and a gable roof of relatively low pitch which extends into a verandah.

71. Buildings of this description were built at Palmerston North (1874-5)[205] and Waikaia (1874),[206] and specifications survive for their construction at Rakaia (1873-4),[207] Russell (1874-5)[208] and Riverhead (1874-5).[209] Although utilitarian in character,[210] their low-pitched gable roofs and decorative timber brackets were an important part of the architectural vocabulary Clayton used some years earlier for his more elaborate Oamaru Post Office (1864) and Government House stables (1869-70). Post and telegraph offices in this more elaborate mode were also built in small towns by the Colonial Architect's

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[205]Tender notice, *New Zealand Times*, 8 August 1874; *A.J.H.R.*, 1875, E.-3, Appendix E, p. 69 & B. G. R. Saunders, *Manawatu's Old Buildings*, Palmerston North, 1987, p. 109.

[206]*A.J.H.R.*, 1874, E.-3, Appendix F, p. 68 & *ibid.*, 1875, E.-3, Appendix E, p. 69.

[207]Tender notice, *New Zealand Government Gazette*, 11 December 1873, p. 704. See also W, 32, CA333.

[208]W, 32, CA342. The contract was signed on 11 November 1874 and the date of completion was agreed as 1 March 1875. On additions & alterations see W, 32, CA350.

[209]W, 32, CA336. The contract for construction of the building was signed on 16 December 1874 and the date of completion agreed as 31 May 1875.

[210]Most of them housed a second class post office - an office, usually established at a port or on provincial borders, for the exchange of mails between the chief (or central) post offices of provincial districts. Second class post offices were defined under the Postal Regulations posted 1 April 1862. See R. M. Startup, *New Zealand Post Offices*, Whenupai, 1993, p. 11.

72. Department, notably the Wanganui Post and Telegraph Office (1870).[211]

In addition, Clayton used this Italianate vocabulary to create a new court house 'type' for construction throughout New Zealand. At its simplest it had a court room with a gable roof of low pitch and a hipped skillion to one side housing offices. A court house of this
73. kind was built at Naseby in 1876.[212] In their more developed form such court houses have a two-storey court room flanked by hipped
74. skillions. The court houses built at Wanganui (1870-1)[213] and Timaru
75. (1876-7) conform to this model,[214] the latter, like the Blenheim Government Buildings, being erected in concrete. Both invite comparison with Mason and Rough's Supreme Court House, Auckland (1841-2, 1844), though unlike that pioneering work, the timber examples were not clad to resemble stone.

Ironically, however, the *New Zealand Mail*, applauded the 'honest' construction of the Wanganui Court House, implying that it represented a significant improvement on the architectural 'shams' erected as government and other buildings in New Zealand, including the former Wanganui Court House and Gaol (1856) itself.[215] According to the *New Zealand Mail*, a 'chief point aimed at' was to ensure that

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[211]The first load of timber was delivered on the site by 16 April 1870. Substantial additions were made to the building in 1882. See Maxwell J. G. Smart & Arthur P. Bates, *The Wanganui Story*, Wanganui, 1972, pp. 183-4.

[212]Tenders were called in the *Mt Ida Chronicle* in February 1876. Research notes on the Naseby Court House by Hazel Harrison, New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington. The plans were not registered by the Public Works Department but the building is referred to in *A.J.H.R.*, 1876, E.-1, Appendix E, p. 70.

[213]W, 16, map register entry for P.W.D. 12419A, registered 12.11.84 with the date 30.11.70. The first load of timber for construction of the building was laid on the market square in January 1871. See *Wanganui Herald*, 28 January 1871, p. 1.

[214]Tenders were due 27 July 1876. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1876, E.-1, Appendix E, p. 70.

[215]On the construction and subsequent history of the earlier Wanganui Court House and Gaol see Smart & Bates, *The Wanganui Story*, pp. 185-8.

the new Wanganui Court House would 'appear a structure built of wood' and there were therefore no 'mock pilasters, mock ashlar work or any other work in disguise'.[216] Rather, in the *New Zealand Mail*'s opinion, each part seemed 'to say, "I am made of wood"'.[217] Had the *New Zealand Mail* looked at other local examples of Clayton's work, at the Wanganui Post and Telegraph Office, for example, it would have discovered that in his provincial work, as in his larger projects for the main centres, Clayton was not averse to the use of 'mock ashlar work or any other work in disguise'. In fact, Clayton used cheaper lapped, weatherboarding for his provincial court houses (and other works) not because of any moral objection to the use of timber to resemble stone but rather because the budgets for construction of provincial government buildings were not sufficient to use more expensive rusticated weatherboarding, and the buildings were not considered sufficiently important to warrant greater expenditure.

Despite budgetary constraints, Clayton made some significant innovations in the design of government buildings for the provinces, notably the creation of a new government building form which served various purposes but was mainly used to house post and telegraph offices. The first example of this new generic form was the Russell
76. Customs House built in 1869-70.[218] The *Daily Southern Cross* hoped that its construction would 'induce the builders to alter our foreign and ancient style of architecture for something more modern and à la

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[216]*New Zealand Mail*, 12 August 1871, p. 6.

[217]*Ibid.*

[218]W, 16, map register entry for P.W.D. 15414. Tenders were called in August. See *Evening Post*, 23 August 1869, p. 3.

mode'.[219] Instead, the building recalls, at least at first glance, the ecclesiologically-inspired Colonial Hospitals Thatcher erected in Auckland and New Plymouth as early as 1846-8.

Clayton would have known Thatcher's (Old) St Paul's, Wellington (1865-6),[220] if not the Colonial Hospitals themselves. However, he created his designs for the Russell Customs House without any reference to such ecclesiologically-inspired works.[221] Since he did not adhere to the Ecclesiologist's belief in the honest use of materials, he must surely have regarded the architectural forms used in the Russell Customs House as merely another visual vocabulary which suited his immediate needs - the construction of attractive but sparingly ornamented timber government buildings in the provinces.

Various sources for the Russell Customs House design suggest themselves. Like Thatcher, Clayton may have consulted Peter Frederick Robinson's publications - *Designs for Ornamental Architecture* (1827) and *Farm Buildings* (1830), for example. American pattern books, too, could have provided a rich source of inspiration. The similarities between Clayton's design for the Russell Customs
77. House and the 'English Rustic Cottage' reproduced as plate LXVI of Wheeler's *Homes for the People* (1855) are striking. As well as designing a building with a similar composition, Clayton used the

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[219] *Southern Cross*, 24 March 1870 as quoted in R. M. Ross, 'Old Kororareka: New Russell' in *Historic Buildings in New Zealand: North Island*, Auckland, 1983 edition, pp. 33-4.

[220] On this building see Margaret Alington, *Frederick Thatcher and St Paul's: An Ecclesiological Study*, Wellington, 1965 & Margaret Alington, 'Old St Paul's and Bishopscourt', *Historic Buildings of New Zealand: North Island* (Frances Porter, ed.), Auckland, 1983 ed., pp. 248-52.

[221] He had brought his personal library with him from Tasmania to New Zealand, liberally stocked, no doubt, with works he bought while in Britain in the 1840s. Anna Crighton notes that Clayton brought thirteen cases of books, drawings and instruments with him from Tasmania to New Zealand. See 'William Clayton (1823-1877)', A paper given to the Society of Architectural Historians of Australia and New Zealand, p. 2. None of his books has been located.

horizontal weatherboarding depicted by Wheeler and advocated by English-born pattern-book author, Calvert Vaux, in preference to the vertical board and batten cladding used by Thatcher and others in New Zealand.[222]

Whatever the ultimate source for the Russell Customs House, the steeply pitched gables, wide overhanging eaves, large timber brackets and collar-beams with 'curved braces, taking the place of a king-post to the roof'[223] were to become the standard elements of the
78. architectural repertoire of Clayton's new generic government building
79. form. It was used in the government buildings erected as post and
80. telegraph offices in the rural service centres of Mataura (1870),[224]
81. Waimate (1870),[225] Foxton (1870-1, additions 1875-6)[226] and Hampden
82. (1870-71)[227] and the former gold-fields centre of Arrowtown (1871).[228] The comparatively early date of these buildings suggests that they represent an early, experimental phase in the design of timber government buildings in the provinces but the repertoire of elements used in their design was never abandoned for governmental

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[222]Calvert Vaux, *Villas and Cottages: A Series of Designs Prepared for Execution in the United States*, 1864 ed., Dover reprint, New York, 1970, p. 70.

[223]Gervase Wheeler, *Homes for the People, in Suburb and Country; the Villa, the Mansion, and the Cottage adapted to the American Climate and Wants*, New York, 1855, p. 335.

[224]Tender notice, *Southland Times*, 17 June 1870, p. 4, as recorded in the file on Clayton, Architects Index, Reference Room, School of Fine Arts, University of Canterbury, Christchurch.

[225]Records of the Postal History Society of New Zealand, Masterton.

[226]Tender notice, *New Zealand Government Gazette*, 19 November 1870, p. 610. Burrows was instructed to report on tenders for additions in a letter dated 6 September [1875], recorded in W, 51, 2. See also M. Mitchell, 'Other Communication', *Foxton 1888-1988: The First Hundred Years* (A. N. Hunt, ed.) [Foxton], 1987, pp. 106-8.

[227]Tender Notice, *New Zealand Government Gazette*, 16 December 1870, p. 641.

[228]*Ibid.*, 19 August 1871, p. 403.

buildings. Clayton used it only a few years before his death for the Havelock Post and Telegraph Office (1875).[229]

He also used it for other purposes. Despite his heavy workload, Clayton called tenders in a private capacity for at least 15 buildings in Wellington,[230] (one under the title of Colonial Architect)[231] and for some outside Wellington. It is in one such
83. work, Te Aute College (1871-2),[232] an Anglican Maori boys' school in Hawkes Bay, that Clayton reused in a private capacity the architectural vocabulary he first used at Russell.

From the very beginning there was some confusion about whether construction of Te Aute College was a private or governmental project. The Native Minister, Donald McLean, arranged for Clayton to prepare designs for the school buildings but Clayton misconstrued the commission as a private one. As Clayton explained, 'understanding from official quarters the Te Aute School was not a Government work,

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[229]Clayton and others were instructed to report on the tenders for the 'Havelock Bdgs' in a letter dated 2 July 1875. See W, 51, 2. The final certificate for the buildings was also submitted that year. See *ibid.*, & MP, 2, 7, Acting Provincial Secretary to Colonial Architect, 29 June 1875.

[230]A search of the *Evening Post* has uncovered tender notices for the following: villa, Willis Street (7 July 1869, p. 3); additions gentleman's house, Aurora Terrace (21 September 1869, p. 3); butcher's shop & dwelling house Lambton Quay for James Gear (2 March 1870, p.3); 18 room gentleman's house, Willis Street (31 March 1870, p. 3); villa, Hobson Street (26 August 1870, p. 3); gentleman's residence, Abel Smith Street (4 February 1871, p. 3); shop, Cuba Street, (12 August 1871, p. 3); Bank of New South Wales, Willis Street (12 March 1872, p. 3); gentleman's residence, Thorndon (10 April 1872, p.3); gentleman's residence (12 August 1873, p. 3); Roman Catholic Church (St. Mary and All Angels), Te Aro (30 April 1873, p. 3); gentleman's residence (of concrete), Hill Street, (17 January 1874, p. 3); butcher's shop cnr. Tory & Vivian Streets (28 February 1874, p. 3); cottage Hobson Street (2 June 1874, p. 2); additions to Charles Johnston's house (28 December 1874, p. 3) & cottage, Haining Street, Te Aro (7 June 1876, p. 3.)

[231]Tender notice for a villa, Willis Street, Wellington, *Evening Post*, 7 July 1869, p. 3.

[232]The contract for the erection of the school building was signed 15 September 1871 and the building was completed in November 1872. See Crighton, 'William Henry Clayton, Colonial Architect', M.A. Thesis, p. 118. The buildings were destroyed by successive fires in March 1918 and March 1919. See John Wilson, 'Te Aute's Long Traditions', *New Zealand Historic Places*, December 1993, p. 40.

and from the circumstance of not receiving instructions in the usual way' he regarded 'the commission as a private one introduced in a kindly way by Mr McLean'.[233] Regardless of the source of the commission, he had no hesitation in using the architectural vocabulary he used for government buildings. In many ways, this vocabulary was even more appropriate for Anglican colleges than governmental works. Its suitability for timber collegiate buildings was further confirmed when buildings were later erected for Te Rau College, Gisborne (1885), a college training centre for Maori Anglican Ministers,[234] using the architectural vocabulary employed at Te Aute.

Other parallels between Clayton's private and governmental works can be drawn suggesting that, for Clayton, government architecture was ultimately a vehicle for personal architectural expression. It was, for example, in private practice that Clayton first experimented with concrete construction. Thwarted in his attempts to build the General Government Offices in concrete, he called tenders for erection of a gentleman's residence in Hill Street, Wellington, in 1874. When it too was not built, Clayton erected his own house as a virtual show-piece of concrete construction, enabling him to experiment with the material before using it for the Blenheim Government Buildings and Timaru Court House. He also erected timber buildings clad and painted to resemble stone, such as James Gear Butcher's shop, Lambton Quay, Wellington (1870), before erecting the timber General Government Offices,

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[233]Clayton to Bishop of Waiapu, 4 April 1872, Copy Micro-0535-reel 46 (copy of Ms 0032-folder 219), A.T.L.

[234]The college closed in 1918. See Joseph Angus Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast, N.I., N.Z.*, Gisborne, 1949, p. 166. The buildings are not extant.

Wellington, to simulate stone construction. Moreover, architectural details used in his government buildings frequently recur in his private works. In both the tower of Clayton's St Mary and All Angels, Boulcott Street, Wellington (1874),[235] and Clayton's additions to the Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington (1871, 1872-3), for example, half-columns which resemble rudimentary tourelles are used to enliven the corners in a way Clayton may have derived from Rumsey.[236]

Yet despite the strong inter-relationship between some works Clayton designed in private practice and in the public service, considered in totality his government buildings established a distinctive architectural image for the state. Whether a small Italianate villa (such as the Wanganui Post and Telegraph Office), a Gothic cottage (such as the Russell Customs House) or an Italianate palazzo (such as the General Government Offices, Wellington), Clayton's government buildings were readily identifiable as governmental, if only via familiarity with the limited range of standard designs. Post offices had long been easy to identify; 1862 Postal Regulations required that they were identified by a sign 'in large and conspicuous characters',[237] though compliance with the regulations surely became less important while Clayton was Colonial Architect. Many of the buildings he erected were themselves so similar that they read as 'signs' of government presence and the

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[235]On this church see *Wellington Independent*, 26 February 1874, p. 3; *ibid.*, 27 April 1874, p. 3 & also *The Story of the Faith in Wellington Central*, Wellington, 1959, pp. 10 & 12. St Mary and All Angels was badly damaged by fire in 1918 and replaced with the present building, designed by Frederick de Jersey Clere, which opened in 1922.

[236]See Rumsey's project for additions at the west end of the Parliamentary Buildings, as drafted by Clayton: ill. 52b.

[237]*New Zealand Government Gazette*, 6 February 1862, p. 78, clause 5.

creation of a centralised administrative infrastructure. With their construction, and the establishment of a national rail and road network, the colonists of Auckland, Wellington, Canterbury and Otago were more likely to think of themselves not only as British settlers of their respective provinces but also of New Zealand. In both a literal and a figurative sense, a nation was being built.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Colonial Architect's Office in Decline, 1878-88

When news of Clayton's premature death in Dunedin in August 1877[1] reached Wellington the continued existence of his office was almost immediately called into question. Despite the uncertainty architects in private practice assumed that Clayton would be replaced. Some harboured aspirations to take up the post of Colonial Architect; others hoped to secure governmental commissions while a suitable replacement for Clayton was being appointed. At least one, Benjamin Mountfort, requested work.[2] Whether Mountfort wished to be employed as Colonial Architect or to design and erect government buildings in Canterbury, his home province, is not known. In either case, his engagement would have resulted in construction of Gothic buildings of a very different kind from those erected by Clayton. Such a sudden and spectacular change in the design of government buildings did not eventuate, however. Mountfort's application was unsuccessful and staff in Clayton's office were left to carry on his work, the title and status of Colonial Architect being withheld and the Government's architectural office being renamed the Architect's Branch of the Public Works Department.

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[1]Clayton was touring the South Island valuing Provincial Government buildings. He died following amputation of all or part of one of his legs, judged necessary because of 'the effects of an accident which happened to him in 1865'. He had previously had several operations intended to repair the damage. See *New Zealand Mail*, 25 August 1877, p. 15 and S. A. Crighton, 'William Henry Clayton: Colonial Architect', M.A. Thesis (History), University of Canterbury, 1985, p. 156.

[2]Micro 2723 of 1877 Public Works Department inwards correspondence register (series W2), entry 1877/3983. The letter is not extant but is said to be dated 27 August 1877. Mountfort had previously written to the Colonial Secretary (1877/2243) stating that he was willing to act as architect for alterations to public buildings. That letter had been forwarded to Clayton.

Even if Clayton had been replaced by an architect with a very different approach towards architecture (such as Mountfort), the architectural legacy he bequeathed to the colony was so large that it could not have been swept aside quickly. In addition to the buildings he erected, Clayton left an office full of 'standard' architectural plans which could only gradually be replaced.

The centralised systems of administration Clayton established were less enduring. Arrangements for the design and construction of government buildings became increasingly fragmented. Even during Clayton's final years as Colonial Architect the survival of his office was uncertain. The disestablishment of the Provincial Governments in 1876 enabled the General Government to increase its building stock merely by appropriating provincial government buildings. By the mid 1870s, too, commitment to large scale public works had dissipated. Vogel's scheme, once touted as the panacea to New Zealand's economic problems, was increasingly criticised for encumbering the colony with unsustainable levels of debt, a criticism levelled by some politicians when the scheme was first proposed.

The organisational changes within the Public Works Department which contributed to the decline of Clayton's office could not have been so easily predicted. For reasons which were never satisfactorily explained,[3] the Government decided, in 1878, to decentralise public works administration, ostensibly in an effort to increase efficiency. The initiative was later judged unsuccessful but from 1878 to 1884 two separate offices administered public works. A Wellington office was responsible for administration of public

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[3]A point made in Rosslyn J. Noonan, *By Design: A Brief History of the Public Works Department, Ministry of Works 1879-1970*, Wellington, 1975, p. 39.

works in the North Island and a Dunedin office for works in the South Island. In April 1878, Burrows was designated Architect for the North Island and, in the South Island, Dunedin-based staff, mainly engineers, became responsible for design and construction of government buildings.

For Burrows and Beatson the sense of disjuncture with established office practice was acute. Burrows reported to Parliament in 1879 that he had designed various South Island works including the Waimate Court House but had passed the work on to William Blair,[4] the Engineer-in-Charge of the Middle Island.[5] Conversely, Blair reported to Parliament the same year that the Waimate Court House had been designed by a 'private architect',[6] presumably H. Evans who had earlier offered to prepare designs for the building.[7]

Even the 1884 amalgamation of the North and South Island offices did not arrest the decline of the Architect's Branch. Rather, in 1884, its disestablishment was pursued as part of a larger programme of retrenchment within the Public Works Department. The *New Zealand Mail* even reported its demise that year.[8] In the event, Burrows' dismissal was effected but Beatson, although given notice, was reprieved.[9] He remained in the Branch to oversee alterations and

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[4]*A.J.H.R.*, 1879, E.-1, p. 31. For an illustration of the Waimate Court House see John Stacpoole, *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1976, p. 135.

[5]The South Island was formerly known as the Middle Island.

[6]*A.J.H.R.*, 1879, E.-1, p. 41.

[7]W, 51, 2.

[8]*New Zealand Mail*, 7 March 1884, pp. 12-13 & *ibid.*, 14 March 1884, p. 17.

[9]IA, 3, register entry 84/707. Beatson acknowledging receipt of 'intimation that services will not be required' & applying for compensation.

additions to existing buildings with the official title of 'Draughtsman'.

An architect was no longer considered necessary. Having constructed a network of government buildings throughout the colony, the Government[10] now believed that all that was necessary to secure adequate accommodation for government departments was to hold architectural competitions for any new buildings that might be required. Accordingly, competitions were held for the Wellington Post and Telegraph Office in September 1879,[11] the Wellington offices of the Government Life Insurance in 1885-6 (won by Joshua Charlesworth)[12] and the Auckland Customs House in 1887 (won by Thomas Mahoney).[13] Beatson and one of the Burrows brothers, probably Pierre, competed unsuccessfully in the latter.[14]

Despite departmental restructuring and reliance on architectural competitions to secure designs, Burrows and Beatson retained some important responsibilities in the North Island. Fortuitously, the tenure of both coincided with a growing commitment

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[10]The Stout-Vogel Ministry (1884), Atkinson Ministry (1884) & Stout Vogel Ministry (1884-7). See Guy H. Scholefield, *New Zealand Parliamentary Record 1840-1949*, Wellington, 1950, pp. 38-9.

[11]*New Zealand Mail*, 27 September 1879, p. 9. Burrows had earlier prepared plans for the building which were presumably discarded. See *ibid.*, 24 May 1879, p. 18. For an account of the building as erected to a design by Thomas Turnbull (an later restored by Beatson following a fire in 1887) see Terence Hodgson, *Colonial Capital: Wellington 1865-1910*, Auckland, 1990, pp. 98-9.

[12]*New Zealand Mail*, 26 February 1886, p. 14. On the Government Life Insurance Building as erected to a design by Clere, FitzGerald and Richmond see Hodgson, pp. 94-5.

[13]For a full account of this building see Hames Sharley, 'Conservation Plan for the Old Customhouse, 12-32 Customs Street West Auckland Addendum 1.0', Auckland, March 1989, which reproduces in full most of the archival documents on the building.

[14]Beatson's competition entry is illustrated in Ian Bowman, 'William Beatson: A Colonial Architect', B. Arch. Research Report, Victoria University of Wellington, 1982, fig. 59. An unsigned competition design for the Auckland Customs House is held by Mr Chris Rush, Tauranga.

to construction of government buildings in permanent materials. Thus the few large works Burrows and Beatson built contributed to the creation of a more monumental architectural image of government - conveyed via both the use of permanent materials (mainly brick) to construct government buildings and through the architectural qualities of the designs themselves. If Clayton's timber buildings were emblematic of the first, pioneering attempts to establish a governmental infrastructure throughout the colony, Burrows' and Beatson's works were expressive of the consolidation of governmental control. In virtually all their major projects, however, Clayton's influence is unmistakable.

A renewed commitment to the construction of government buildings in permanent materials in the earthquake prone capital, Wellington, was signalled by the construction of Burrows' Wellington Supreme Court House and Police Station.[15] Both were conceived as part of a larger complex of judicial buildings intended to include a Resident Magistrate's Court. Construction of the Magistrate's Court was deferred indefinitely[16] but the erection of the Supreme Court House and Police Station was roughly contemporaneous. Work on the
84. foundations of the Supreme Court House was under way by October 1879[17] and construction of the building completed in early 1881.[18]
85. The Police Station was not begun until 1880[19] but it too was

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[15]*New Zealand Mail*, 8 June 1878, p. 17.

[16]A Magistrate's Court was not built until 1902-3. See chapter seven, p. 302.

[17]*New Zealand Mail*, 18 October 1879, p. 18.

[18]Its completion was foreshadowed in *ibid.*, 25 December 1880, p. 17.

[19]*Ibid.*, 15 May 1880, p. 19.

completed in early 1881.[20] Both were built in brick and plastered to resemble stone. The first government buildings erected in permanent materials in Wellington since the 1848 earthquake, they testified to the Government's belated acceptance of Clayton's arguments that the threat of earthquakes was not sufficient reason to restrict construction of all buildings in the city to timber.

Their erection in permanent materials also allowed Burrows to explore possibilities in siting government buildings denied Clayton. Whereas Clayton set his timber buildings well back from the street as a protection against the spread of fire, Burrows was able to concentrate architectural effect closer to the street boundaries. The two storey portion of the Supreme Court House - containing the
86. principal court and other rooms - are thus arranged in a 'T' plan, the principal wing abutting the street boundary with the service areas relegated to the centre of the site. Single storey offices were erected within the junctions and alongside parts of the two-
87. storey wings. The plan of the police station was a simple rectangle likewise situated hard against the street, and single storey wings were to be erected between it and the Supreme Court House.

Despite the use of masonry it was pessimistically predicted that the Supreme Court House would not possess the monumentality thought appropriate for such a prestigious judicial and governmental complex. When in February the walls were erected and the roof was being constructed the *New Zealand Mail* commented that the building 'does not present a very striking appearance to the beholder, its height only being 12ft 7in' [approx. 3.84m]. Its only redeeming feature was that 'it will be hidden from view by the Police Station

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[20] *Ibid.*, 22 January 1881, p. 15.

and Resident Magistrate's Court'.[21] A few weeks additional work did not improve its appearance; in mid March the *New Zealand Mail* reported that 'from the present look of the building it will not present a very handsome appearance'.[22] When the building was completed the interior, at least, invited more favourable comment. The rooms of the Supreme Court House, the once critical *New Zealand Mail* commented, 'are lofty and well ventilated, and the arrangements of the various offices are excellent'.[23]

Judged only a partial success by Burrows' contemporaries, the building nevertheless contributed to the acceptance of monumental classicism as the preferred architectural style of New Zealand government. The Italianate facades evoked Clayton's brick and plaster works such as the Napier Post and Telegraph Office, while the temple form of the Police Station derived directly from Clayton's Dunedin Telegraph Office. The complex as a whole complemented the adjacent timber General Government Offices which provided a powerful precedent for housing various governmental institutions (a Supreme Court, Magistrate's Court and Police Station) in one monumental palazzo.

Beatson, too, was strongly influenced by Clayton's later work. Shortly after Burrows' dismissal as head of the Wellington-based architectural office, he was working on proposals to build a new library for the General Assembly.[24] Clayton had earlier prepared

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[21] *New Zealand Mail*, 28 February 1880, p. 11.

[22] *Ibid.*, 13 March 1880, p. 19.

[23] *Ibid.*, 27 May 1880, p. 15. Note, however, that the *Evening Post* remained critical. See Hodgson, p. 110.

[24] In addition to preparing plans, Beatson prepared detailed specifications. See W32, 14404.

plans for the building, anticipating that tenders would 'be invited whenever it is deemed desirable to do so'.[25] If not substantially

88. Clayton's work, Beatson's project must have borrowed heavily from it. It is a further essay in the Clayton-inspired architectural vocabulary of the Dunedin Telegraph Office and invites comparison with Burrows' Wellington Police Station. Although Beatson's library was never erected, a site had been chosen for the building along Sydney Street adjacent to Clayton's Gothic Legislative Council Chambers (1872-3). Thus, if it had been built, it would have forcefully asserted the pre-eminence of Italianate classicism as the preferred architectural style for New Zealand's government buildings.[26]

In the event, the only major government building Beatson

89. erected was the Government Printing Office,[27] though it too contributed to the Italianate architectural image Clayton had been constructing for the Government. Built immediately to the north of Clayton's General Government Offices, even the circumstances surrounding its construction echoed those of Clayton's building. Alternative tenders for construction of the Government Printing

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[25] *A.J.H.R.*, 1876, E.-1, Appendix E, p. 70.

[26] A library building was commissioned as an integral part of the parliamentary complex from Thomas Turnbull in 1882 and tenders for its construction called five years later, though no further action on its construction was taken. Turnbull was again engaged to design a General Assembly Library in 1897. The building was completed, to a modified design by the Government Architect, John Campbell, in 1899. See Chris Cochran & Rod Cook, 'Parliamentary Library, Parliament House: Conservation Values' [Wellington], April 1989, pp. 39-49 & Wellington Regional Committee, New Zealand Historic Places Trust, *General Assembly Library: Newsletter of the Wellington Regional Committee of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1977.

[27] Note, however, that he was also responsible for the design and construction of the utilitarian Wellington Industrial Exhibition Building erected between March and August 1885. See W, 15, P.W.D. 13088 & *A.J.H.R.*, 1886, D.-1, Appendix I, p. 40. He was also responsible for reconstruction of Turnbull's Wellington Post Office (1884) after it was partially destroyed by fire in 1887. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1888, D.-1, Appendix I, p. 40. Some of Beatson's drawings for this work are held by Ian Bowman, Petone.

Office were called in 1886 in timber and masonry, much as they had been for the General Government Offices over a decade earlier. Likewise, all tenders 'so largely exceeded the money voted' that none was accepted.[28] In contrast to the General Government Offices, however, the preference was for brick rather than timber construction. Rather than opting for timber to reduce costs, it was decided to build only a portion of Beatson's project in brick,[29] essentially a three-storey palazzo. A contract for its erection was signed on 11 December 1886 and building began the following January.[30] In March 1888 the office was on 'the eve of completion'.[31]

Beatson had access to information on a number of potential models for the building. Floor plans of Sydney's Government Printing Office (signed by James Barnet and dated 1872) had been obtained by the Public Works Department at least as early as September 1887.[32] Beatson would doubtless have been interested in the way in which Barnet solved the technical problems of housing heavy printing machinery but he had little need to look beyond Clayton's New Zealand work for the formal vocabulary employed on the facades of his building. Situated adjacent to the General Government Offices and within sight of Clayton's Government House and Burrows' Police Station, Italianate classicism was the obvious choice.

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[28] *A.J.H.R.*, 1886, D.-1, Appendix I, p. 40.

[29] *Illustrated New Zealand News*, 16 March 1885, p. 2.

[30] *A.J.H.R.*, 1887, D.-1, Appendix J, p. 44.

[31] Tenders for fittings were called in the *Evening Post*, 18 April 1888, p. 3. The contract was described as being on the 'eve of completion' in *A.J.H.R.*, 1888, D.-1, Appendix I, p. 40.

[32] W, 16, map register entry for P.W.D. 15249.

It was not, however, a style either Burrows or Beatson used for many large office buildings. Once the Government decided to hold competitions for the larger works most of Burrows' and Beatson's energies were diverted in to the construction of gaols, namely, Mount Eden, Auckland, and Mount Cook, Wellington. Even they were derived from Clayton's work. In 1875-6 Clayton was working on a project for a gaol to be built at New Plymouth, a project which he reported 'required a large amount of study'.[33] Although he had presumably obtained the plans of Wormwood Scrubs (1873-85) he requested in 1875,[34] when preparing his designs he rejected the more up-to-date pavilion plan of that prison, creating instead a plan with the linear and axial qualities already evident in his other large government buildings.[35] As Clayton described it, the New Plymouth gaol was to have four radiating wings, together capable of holding 408 prisoners.[36]

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[33]*A.J.H.R.*, 1876, E.-1, Appendix E, p. 70.

[34]See chapter four, p. 219.

[35]This contrasts with Barnet, who claimed to be influenced by Wormwood Scrubs, explaining that 'from my visit to the new gaol at Wormwood Scrubs I was able to prevent the expenditure of say £10,000 in alterations to gaols in the Colony'. Item 1 (p. 70) of ML Mss 726, Mitchell Library, Sydney.

[36]The building presently used as a Gaol in New Plymouth has somewhat implausibly been identified as a modified version of Clayton's project. See Stacpoole, p. 133 and Crighton, 'William Henry Clayton: Colonial Architect', M.A. Thesis, pp. 137-9. This attribution is incorrect. Although Clayton called tenders in 1876 for part of the reception offices and 'one gaol wing capable of holding 102 prisoners in separate cells, the chapel, Governor's house, and gaol walls', none of this work was built.

The *Taranaki Herald*, 14 October 1871, reported on the conversion of the military hospital into a goal. Construction of major additions to the converted hospital began in 1879. They comprised a cell block with six cells (each capable of accommodating three prisoners) and beach stone walls on the northern and eastern sides of the gaol (See *Taranaki Herald*, 21 February 1880, p. 2). Little, if any, of this work was derived from Clayton's project for a gaol accommodating prisoners in separate cells.

The building is shown as having 'T' plan and to be surrounded by structures of other shapes in an 1880 map of New Plymouth, ref: 009.1, Taranaki Museum. The original form of the building is still discernible.

Clayton's plans do not survive[37] but those Burrows prepared for the Mt Eden Gaol (designed in 1882)[38] and the former Mt Cook Gaol (designed in 1883-4)[39] were doubtless reduced versions of them. The
90. Mt Eden Gaol was designed for 300 prisoners; Mt Cook for 220.[40] Like Clayton's project, they were planned on the 'radiating separate cell
91. system',[41] though only one wing of the Mt Cook Gaol was built.[42] Their prominent eaves brackets, arched and segmental-headed windows and towers with low-pitched pavilion roofs were standard elements in Clayton's architectural vocabulary. Although the polygonal stages of
92. the towers Burrows intended for the Mt Eden Gaol were not erected (they were replaced with crenellated parapets) Clayton's influence is unmistakable. Even before construction began, Burrows' rejection of a pavilion plan in favour of a more linear, axial scheme represented a relatively conservative solution towards gaol design which harks back to Clayton's approach.

A degree of conservatism and continuity is also evident in Burrows' and Beatson's smaller, provincial government buildings. Both architects continued to use Clayton's designs. Clayton's standard gabled court house with skillion to one side, as built at
93. Naseby (1876), was repeated after his death at Akaroa (1878-80),[43]

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[37]They were, however, registered in W, 16 as P.W.D. 2241.

[38]See date on W, 15, P.W.D. 13824.

[39]*A.J.H.R.*, 1884, D.-1, Appendix I, p. 47.

[40]*Ibid.*, 1883, D.-1, Enclosure in Appendix I, p. 45.

[41]*Ibid.* Admittedly, however, not all the wings radiate from a central, nodal point in the tradition of the prisons that inspired Thomas Fitzgerald in the 1840s.

[42]It was dismantled in the 1930s. See Hodgson, p. 111.

[43]See *A.J.H.R.*, 1878, E.-1, Appendix J, p. 78; *ibid.*, 1879, E.-1, Appendix E, p. 40; *ibid.*, 1880, E.-1, Enclosure 4 in Appendix E, p. 69 & New Zealand Historic Places Trust Field Record Form for the Akaroa Court House prepared by Pam Wilson.

for example. A modified version with offices housed under a gable

94. roof rather than a hipped skillion was also built at Onehunga (erected 1889)[44] and Waiuku (1885).[45] In 1883-4 Burrows built a

95. court house at Masterton[46] with hipped wings on either side of a gabled court room which recalls Clayton's Wanganui (1871) and Timaru (1877) Court Houses.

In the 1880s Clayton's influence was beginning to wane nonetheless. If architects of the seniority of Burrows and Beatson had continued to be employed new approaches towards the design of government buildings might have been developed in the North Island. It is tempting to imagine that Burrows' undated perspective for a

96. building in the French Second Empire style (presumably offices for the New Zealand Insurance Company)[47] indicates the direction government architecture would have taken in the North Island had Burrows been appointed to the post of Colonial Architect. Regrettably, however, neither Burrows nor Beatson remained in employment long enough to develop new approaches towards design of government buildings.

When Beatson was dismissed in 1887 only junior staff remained to design government buildings, notably William Crichton (1861-

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[44]The plans survive as W, 32, PB8. Although the date 1882 has been painted on the Onehunga Court House, it was not built until 1889. Tenders were called in March that year. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1889, D.-1, Appendix H, p. 38 and also *ibid.*, 1889, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 38. On the subsequent history of the building and its use as a police station see John Mitchell, 'A Continuous Presence in Onehunga', *Historic Places in New Zealand*, no. 19, December 1987, p. 4.

[45]See *A.J.H.R.*, 1885, D.-1, Appendix I, p. 49. Note, however, that the date 1883 has been painted on the building.

[46]*A.J.H.R.*, 1883, D.-1, Enclosure in Appendix I, p. 45 & *ibid.*, 1884, D.-1, Enclosure in Appendix I, p. 47.

[47]According to the recollections of Dudley M. Burrows, New Plymouth, pers. com., June 1994.

1928).[48] First appointed in April 1879 - eighteen months after Clayton's death - the nineteen year old Crichton had been dismissed from the Public Works Department in August 1880[49] but reappointed as a draftsman in November 1881. He attempted to obtain a permanent appointment in 1883[50] but was regarded as temporary until 1 April 1886 when the Department began paying him an annual salary instead of a daily wage.[51] Any direct connection with the former Colonial Architect and with the tradition of government architecture he established was severed when Crichton assumed the position of head of the North Island Architect's Office the following year; Crichton had neither known nor worked for Clayton.

In the South Island the arrangements for provision of government buildings were at least as undeveloped as those in the North. When, on 1 May 1878, the Public Works Department devolved responsibility for South Island public works to its Dunedin office no provision was made for the establishment of an architectural branch for the South Island. It was envisaged instead that architects in private practice would be commissioned to design and supervise construction of the larger South Island government buildings and smaller works would be handled by engineers in the Dunedin office. The Dunedin-based architect, Robert Arthur Lawson, therefore secured the commission for the Seacliff Lunatic Asylum in 1878[52] and the

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[48]Obituary, *Dominion*, 7 April 1928, p. 7. Probate: AAOM 6029, P1928/42334.

[49]Crichton was one of ten temporary staff assigned to the Colonial Architect's Office, mainly inspectors of works, who lost their jobs between 1 January 1880 and 14 June 1881. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1881, H.-37, p. 8.

[50]W, 51, 2, note re. Crichton to Clayton, 17 April 1883.

[51]W, 14, 2.

[52]On this building see W. J. Prior, 'Robert Arthur Lawson, Architect, 1833-1902', M.A. Thesis (Classics), University of Otago, 1990, chapter 9, pp. 54-70 & J. N. Mane-Wheoki, 'From the "Athens of the North" to the

Timaru Post Office the following year;[53] the Oamaru-based firm, Forrester and Lemon, was commissioned to design a new Post and Telegraph Office (1883-4),[54] Customs House (1883)[55] and Court House (1882-3)[56] for Oamaru, and Christchurch-based architect Thomas Cane secured the commission for new work at Sunnyside Lunatic Asylum.[57] Since the government buildings designed by these and other architects in the South Island varied widely in architectural style and use of materials, the architectural image the Government projected tended to reflect the fragmentation and provincialism Vogel earlier thought problematic in government administration in New Zealand. In short, the situation was similar to that immediately before Clayton's appointment in 1869.

In the period 1878-88 itself the architectural traditions of the Clayton era had been perpetuated in the North Island. While Burrows and Beatson were employed the Government was able to capitalise on Clayton's achievement, erecting buildings which further contributed to the construction of the more monumental Italianate architectural image of centralised government Clayton had begun to construct towards the end of his life. After their dismissal only a

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"Edinburgh of the South": The Architecture of Robert Arthur Lawson', *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, vol. 13, 1992, pp. 12-13.

[53]Lawson's drawings (P.W.D. 12259) for this building survive on aperture card at Works Consultancy, Wellington.

[54]W, 16, map register entries P.W.D. 12424 & 12613. See also P. C. McCarthy, 'Victorian Oamaru: The Architecture of Forrester and Lemon', M.A. Thesis (Art History), University of Canterbury, 1986, pp. 72-5.

[55]Registered in W, 16 as P.W.D. 15409. See also the contract document W, 32, CA/312.

[56]Registered in W, 16 as P.W.D. 12424. See also the contract document W, 32, CA/309; W, 51, 2, 6 Oct 1881; McCarthy, pp. 68-70 & A. Scott & J. Nicol, *A History of the Oamaru Courthouse 1883-1983*, Wellington, 1983.

[57]On this work see Judith Hamilton, 'Sunnyside Hospital: The Development of its Buildings from ca. 1863 to ca. 1900', ARTH 603 essay, School of Fine Arts, University of Canterbury, 1985, pp. 9-11. See also W, 51, 2 re. Cane requesting an interview with the Minister of Public Works about his commission for work at Sunnyside Asylum, 27 August 1880.

renewed political commitment to centralised systems of governmental control and the further expansion of the state would enable the ground that had been lost to be recovered. The governmental style of architecture which developed in the following decades was, however, to be very different from that which emerged during the Clayton era.

CHAPTER SIX

John Campbell & the Architectural Branch of the Public Works Department, 1889-99

In January 1891 John Ballance was appointed Premier of New Zealand, initiating a twenty-one year period of Liberal administration (1891-1912) characterised by wide-ranging reform. Providing land for settlers and cheap loans to keep them on it, introducing compulsory arbitration and establishing old age pensions, the Liberals, under Ballance and his successors,[1] earned New Zealand a reputation as a 'social laboratory' which the country has long cherished.[2] Underlying their reforms was a strong commitment to the belief that central government has a decisive role to play in solving social and economic problems, a commitment which resulted in rapid expansion of the state. Laying the foundations of many important features of modern New Zealand government, including party government itself,[3] the Liberals were also responsible for erecting large numbers of government buildings to house the burgeoning bureaucracy they helped create.

Their building programme began slowly. Wary of accumulating the levels of debt Vogel's public works and immigration scheme bequeathed the colony, the Liberals' commitment to construction of government buildings increased only from 1894 when, amidst some controversy, they also began borrowing for public works and other

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[1]Ballance was Premier 1891-3. He was succeeded by Richard John Seddon (Premier, 1893-1906) and Sir Joseph George Ward (Premier, 1906-12).

[2]For a full account of the Liberals see David Hamer, *The New Zealand Liberals: The Years of Power, 1891-1912*, Auckland, 1988.

[3]For a summary of the Liberals' achievements see *ibid.*, p. 9.

purposes.[4] By 1900 native schools, lunatic asylums, post and telegraph offices, customs houses, court houses, police stations departmental offices and (from 1905) workers' houses were being erected with a renewed Vogelite enthusiasm.

Finance was not the only impediment to the Liberals' building programme. When they first assumed power they were also impeded by the lack of an architectural office capable of doing more than maintaining and making necessary additions to existing buildings. They had the services of a capable and energetic architect, John Campbell (1857-1942),[5] who headed a newly-created architectural office, the Architectural Branch of the Public Works Department. However, the Branch lacked the staff and administrative support to carry out a large-scale building programme.[6] Only by increasing its size could the Liberals construct the number of government buildings they required.

Campbell's role as head of the Architectural Branch grew in importance in direct proportion to the size of the office, his official title reflecting his increasing status. He was Draughtsman between 1890 and 1892, Architectural Draughtsman between 1892 and

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[4]On the Liberal Government's attitude towards overseas borrowing see *ibid.*, pp. 85-8 & 129-41.

[5]On Campbell see Peter Richardson, 'An Architecture of Empire: The Government Buildings of John Campbell in New Zealand', M.A. Thesis (Art History), University of Canterbury, 1988. This thesis provides more detailed discussion of some of the issues and buildings mentioned in this and the following chapter. Some of the information contained in the M.A. thesis, as well as a number of the conclusions reached, have now been modified in the light of more recent research.

[6]The Branch was responsible for essentially the same range of government buildings as Clayton and the Superintendents of Public Works, separate arrangements being made for the design of workers' housing. On the Liberals' workers' housing scheme see Barbara Fill, *Seddon's State Houses: The Workers' Dwellings Act 1905 and the Heretaunga Settlement*, Wellington 1984 & Barbara Fill 'Homes for the People: Workers' Dwellings of Christchurch', *The Past Today: Historic Places in New Zealand* (John Wilson, ed.), Auckland, 1987, pp. 148-53.

1906, Architect between 1907 and 1908 and finally Government Architect between 1909 and his retirement in 1922.[7] Responsible for the design of government buildings in New Zealand for over thirty years, he played a major role in shaping both the evolution of the Architectural Branch and a new and more monumental governmental style of architecture.

Born in Glasgow on 4 July 1857, Campbell was a contemporary of John James Burnet (1857-1938) but younger than most of the leading Scots-born architects whose work he was also to admire and emulate, notably Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912), John Brydon (1840-1901) and William Young (1843-1900). For Campbell, as for Shaw, Brydon and Young, Scotland's rich heritage of classical buildings was an important influence. During his formative years in Glasgow Campbell would have known and doubtless admired the very eclectic work of Alexander Thomson (1817-75), the Italian Baroque of John Burnet Senior's Clydesdale Bank, St Vincent Place (1870-3)[8] and Italianate palazzi such as J. T. Rochhead's Bank of Scotland, St. Vincent Place and Victoria Square (1869),[9] among other buildings.

Though the general influence of the architectural environment in which Campbell lived is immediately apparent, the more specific influence of his formal training is less easy to detect. Campbell served his articles under Glaswegian architect John Gordon (1835-1912)[10] between 1872 and 1876 and then worked for him as an assistant

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[7]See W, 14, 2 & on Campbell's retirement *New Zealand Gazette*, 26 October 1922, p. 2870.

[8]For an illustration see A. M. Doak & A. McLaren Young (eds.), *Glasgow at a Glance: An architectural Handbook*, London, 1977, plate 100.

[9]*Ibid.*, plate 81.

[10]On John Gordon see *Building News and Engineering Journal*, 7 February 1890, p. 221 & Williamson, Riches & Higgs, pp. 51, 53, 314, 320, 321, 411, 454, 466, 517, 520, 578 & 579.

until 1879. During these years Gordon was designing in a free neo-Greek style heavily influenced by the work of Alexander Thomson. So derivative was some of his commercial work that Thomson's warehouse and workshops, 99-107 West Nile Street (c.1874),[11] were, at one time, attributed to Gordon.[12] Since Campbell did not himself design in the Greek Revival style in New Zealand, he appears to have soon rejected the model provided by Gordon's works,[13] although probably he continued to admire the free and intuitive use of classical elements that characterised Gordon's approach.

Having worked as an assistant in Gordon's office for three years, Campbell sought to establish his own career outside his practice. Whereas Shaw and others travelled south to England to improve their prospects, Campbell sought employment in the colonies.[14] His whereabouts between 1879 (when he left Gordon's office) and late 1882 (when he was living in Dunedin) are uncertain but he enjoyed travelling and he probably spent these years working at various casual jobs in one or more of the British colonies.[15]

Whatever his occupation between 1879 and 1882, Campbell - like Clayton before him - found his first employment in New Zealand in the office of the colony's first governmental architect, the former Superintendent of Public Works, William Mason. Employed as a

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[11]For an illustration see *British Architect*, 11 February 1876.

[12]See Andor Gomme & David Walker, *Architecture of Glasgow*, London, 1987 ed., p. 148n.

[13]On Campbell's use of some Greek decorative elements in his project for the Dunedin Railway Station, however, see p. 266.

[14]His decision to leave Glasgow was probably influenced by the economic downturn there precipitated by the collapse of the City of Glasgow bank in 1878. On this downturn, see Gomme & Walker, pp. 191-2.

[15]According to family information, he may have been in Australia. See Richardson, pp. 14 & 39. Campbell's obituary in the *Dominion* (5 August 1942, p. 6) also asserts that 'In his youth he took a trip in a sailing ship to South America'.

draughtsman for Mason and his then partner, N. Y. A. Wales, he drafted details for Wales' Sargood Son and Ewen's warehouse, Auckland,[16] among other works.[17] After only a few months in Mason and Wales' office, on 6 February 1883, Campbell took up an appointment with the Dunedin office of the Public Works Department. The Department's officers had made special efforts to help him obtain the appointment, persuading the Minister of Public Works, William Johnston, to reopen a previously lapsed post for him.[18] It is nevertheless tempting to believe that it was ultimately through Mason's influence that Campbell, like Clayton before him, obtained work in the public service.[19]

Campbell spent most of his time in the Dunedin office making additions and alterations to existing buildings,[20] reporting to an Assistant Engineer, Thomas Bell Low.[21] He nevertheless created designs for the Dunedin Railway Station (c. 1884) and for the Palmerston Post and Telegraph Office (1886).[22] He was probably also responsible for the Ophir Post and Telegraph Office (1886). Unhindered by the Wellington staff of the Public Works Department,

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[16]On Sargood Son and Ewen's warehouse, Auckland, see G. N. McLay, 'N. Y. A. Wales, Architect', Post Graduate Diploma in History, University of Otago, 1985, pp. 35-6. The building was later known as Scott's Building, only the facade of which survives.

[17]For an account of these see Richardson, p. 16.

[18]See W, 51, 2.

[19]Wales gave Campbell a reference testifying to his abilities as a draughtsman. See Mason and Wales' 'Letter Book 1880-1887' held by the firm of Mason and Wales, Dunedin. See Richardson, pp. 16, 39.

[20]For a full list of works undertaken in Otago while Campbell worked in the Dunedin office of the Public Works Department see *A.J.H.R.*, 1884, D.-1, Appendix I, p. 47; *ibid.*, 1886, D.-1, Appendix I, p. 39; *ibid.*, 1887, D.-1, Appendix J, p. 44 & *ibid.*, 1888, D.-1, Appendix I, p. 41.

[21]See the notes prepared by J. Marchbanks to accompany a photograph album presented to W. N. Blair in 1884, p. 9, pictorial reference section, A.T.L. On Low see also W, 14, 3.

[22]The plans are unsigned but the drawing style is clearly Campbell's.

Campbell was able in these works to begin developing the ideas about the design of government buildings that he would later use as head of the Architectural Branch.

A railway station was not built in permanent materials in Dunedin until the early twentieth century[23] but work preparing a site and foundations for a stone building were under way from 1879.[24] Two projects survive from that date - one classical, the other Gothic. Both were considered for construction in the mid 1880s and although it is possible that the Gothic project is Campbell's, only the
97. classical one can be attributed to him with any degree of
98. certainty.[25] It would, in any case, have been his preference. Campbell would have used much of the detailing, such as the incised ornament and acroteria, in Gordon's office, and the monumentality of the design foreshadows that of the buildings he was later to erect. The arrangement of a long range with centre and end pavilions was to become one of his standard compositional devices for large government offices.

Although the three designs Campbell prepared for the Palmerston Post and Telegraph Office are less monumental than the Dunedin Railway Station project, they were no less significant in the

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[23]The Dunedin Railway Station was built to an impressive design by George Troup in 1904-7. For an illustration see Frances Porter (ed.), *Historic Buildings of New Zealand, South Island*, Auckland, 1983, p. 191.

[24]Contracts were let in 1879, 1882 and 1883. See Rosemary Entwisle, 'Dunedin's Stations: Solving an Architectural Puzzle', *Historic Places in New Zealand*, no. 11, September 1986, p. 8.

[25]See Richardson, pp. 31-5. The Gothic project has been attributed to both Campbell and, unconvincingly, to George Troup. Campbell's authorship of the design is suggested by Entwisle, pp. 8-10, on the grounds that Campbell worked for the Dunedin office of the Public Works Department and that the design resembles Campbell's Dunedin Law Courts (1899-1902). Troup is credited with the design in Gordon Troup, *George Troup, Architect and Engineer*, Palmerston North, 1982, pp. 38-9. Architects in private practice also expected to be commissioned to design the building. N. Y. A. Wales wrote to Wellington offering his services in 1882, see W, 51, 2, note dated 23.8.82.

evolution of Campbell's ideas about the design of government buildings. His first sketch for the post office was for a building with a hipped roof and a gable over the entrance. When it was later decided to build the post office on a corner site, Campbell created two new designs - one approved by the District Engineer in June 1885, and the other, the result of further revisions, in August that year. By March 1886 the post office had been built[26] to the revised design for a corner building approved in August.

Campbell would not have had access to a set of Clayton's standard drawings for provincial government buildings but he would surely have acquired a full knowledge of them while working in Otago. Within the province there was at least one example of both Clayton's standard court house design (Naseby Court House (1876)) and his generic Gothic government building form (Arrowtown Post and Telegraph Office (built 1871)). Campbell would also have known at first hand the small, Italianate works Clayton and his immediate successors built in permanent materials in Otago, notably the Port Chalmers Post and Telegraph Office (1876).[27]

Seen in this context, Campbell's designs for the Palmerston Post and Telegraph Office represent an implicit rejection of Clayton's work. Rather than adopt one of Clayton's designs as a model, Campbell chose instead to develop his own distinctive new provincial government building form, distinguished by its use of more monumental elements, notably the aedicule which frames the door of the final design. Campbell's solution to turning the corner from one

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[26] *A.J.H.R.*, 1886, D.-1, Appendix I, p. 41.

[27] On the Port Chalmers Post and Telegraph office see W, 32, CA 317. The building is illustrated in Lois Galer (comp.), *Historic Buildings of Otago and Southland: A Register of Classified Buildings* [Wellington], 1989, p. 40.

street to the other, a polygonal corner room, also contributes to the sense of monumentality in the revised designs (while anticipating the corner treatment of Wellington's Public Trust Office built under Campbell's aegis in 1905-9).[28]

However, no building in Otago provides more convincing evidence
102. of Campbell's quest for greater monumentality than the Ophir Post and Telegraph Office (1886). Although Campbell's authorship of the building is not documented, he was almost certainly its architect. He was charged with construction of small government buildings in Otago at the time it was built and the stylistic evidence is, in any case, compelling. A simple, hipped-roof block (with skillions to one side and to the rear), the principal decorative device is the corbelled arches which frame the windows. Erected in local schist, the design reveals a taste for the free and playful use of classical elements which was to characterise the new governmental style of architecture Campbell established, while also anticipating the construction of small, masonry government buildings throughout provincial New Zealand.

Albeit unwittingly, Wellington bureaucrats endorsed the ideas about the design of government buildings Campbell was developing in Otago when, on 30 November 1888, they transferred him from Dunedin to Wellington. Though nominally a promotion, Campbell's transferral was connected with a short-sighted proposal to disestablish the Public Works Department.[29] On 1 April 1889 Campbell was designated draughtsman in charge of a Public Buildings Department, created as

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[28]On the Public Trust Office, Wellington, see chapter seven, p. 305-11.

[29]See Rosslyn J. Noonan, *By Design: A Brief History of the Public Works Department, Ministry of Works 1870-1970*, Wellington, 1975, p. 51. The disestablishment of the Department is mooted in *A.J.H.R.*, 1888, B.-6, p. vii.

part of the Defence Department, in anticipation of the demise of the Public Works Department. Little more than a clerk of works' office, the function of the new Department was to design additions to, and maintain, existing government buildings.[30] Campbell's post therefore provided few opportunities to create new designs.[31]

Despite the limitations of his appointment, his prospects improved quickly. On 1 June 1890 the Public Buildings Department was again merged with the Public Works Department, becoming known as its Architectural Branch, Campbell retaining his post as head draftsman. When the Liberals' took office less than seven months later, Campbell was presented with the opportunity to develop the office infrastructure as more resources were made available for building work. In the process, he appointed staff sympathetic to the establishment of the more monumental government architecture he had already begun to develop in Dunedin. By the time Campbell retired in 1922, the Architectural Branch bore his unmistakable imprint.

i. The Creation of the Architectural Branch

As draughtsman in charge of the short-lived Public Buildings Department Campbell managed his workload with only a few staff, some of whom had been associated with Beatson's office. Ebon Connal, a former Public Works Department engineering cadet, was his chief assistant and William Crichton was among his professional staff. A

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[30]For a detailed record of the work undertaken see W, 52, 2.

[31]During the 1889-90 financial year less than £36,000 was spent on public buildings by the Public Buildings Department, little more than a sixth of the sum spent by the Architect's Branch under Burrows in 1880-81. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1896, D.-1, Table no. 2, p. 3.

clerk (John Ahern),[32] accountant (William Gibson)[33] and at least one inspector of works (David Mahony)[34] also worked for him.

When, in 1890, the Public Buildings Department was again merged with the Public Works Department, Campbell's principal professional staff, Connal and Crichton, were transferred with him to the Architectural Branch. However, Connal was made redundant in 1891 and Crichton was dismissed the following year.[35] Both could legitimately blame their dismissal on budgetary constraints imposed by the Liberals in the early 1890s when they were committed to financing public works entirely from surplus revenue.

With the dismissal of his permanent staff Campbell had the opportunity to reshape his office largely as he saw fit, subject to Departmental and Ministerial approval of appointments. Although he had very clear ideas about the character of the office he wished to create, his attitude towards the appointment of staff and the role they played in his office evolved during the 1890s. At the beginning of the decade, he was reluctant to delegate work to the staff he did have. As late as 1894, Premier Seddon, concerned that work was falling behind, observed that

> Mr Campbell goes too much into details himself instead of taking a general supervision and letting others do the work under instruction.[36]

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[32]W, 14, 2.

[33]See W, 14, 3.

[34]W, 14, 2.

[35]See W, 14, 1.

[36]W, 1, 24/188, Part 0 (C), PW 94/132, Note on Telegram R. J. Seddon to Under-secretary, p. 2. Also quoted in Richardson, p. 31.

By the end of his career Campbell had learned to delegate. Writing in 1957 about his recollections of Campbell's office in 1917-22, a former architectural cadet, Walter Vine, recalled that

> Office hours in those days [c. 1917] were 9-1, 2-5. J. C.'s [John Campbell's] regular time of arrivel [sic] was 10 a.m. ... He never even glanced at the draughting room as he covered the few paces to his own room, needless to say all the staff were hard at work when he did emerge for business. He left at 1 and returned at 3 p.m. ... 5 was the end of his day too.[37]

Vine recounted this work routine to illustrate Campbell's sportsmanship in allowing staff time to extinguish cigarettes and pipes before 'officially' entering the draughting room to begin the day's work.[38] Sportsmanlike or not, Vine's account also reveals that Campbell's working day was not long enough to 'go too much into details himself'.

Campbell's change in management style, enforced by Seddon, occurred also because he was able to appoint staff he trusted to create designs according to his general instructions with little or no supervision. Following Crichton's dismissal no staff were employed in senior positions who had been associated with the construction of government buildings in the Italianate modes that Clayton used. Burrows, the one-time Public Works Department Architect, was reappointed as a temporary draftsman in 1895[39] (having applied unsuccessfully for reappointment in 1890 and 1894)[40] but was

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[37]W. F. C. Vine, 'John Campbell: F.R.I.B.A.', unpublished typescript, June 1957, p. 2. Sheppard Collection, School of Architecture, University of Auckland.

[38]According to Vine, Campbell was always preceded by his fox terrier, the first warning to staff that they should stop smoking. As Campbell's 'slightly smoke-stained' moustache and beard attested, he also smoked. However, smoking was 'strictly forbidden' within Public Works Department offices. See *ibid.*

[39]See W, 14, 3.

[40]See W, 2 entries 1890/1579 & 1894/3882.

stationed in Hunterville - a small Rangitikei town, then the head office for construction work at the southern end of the North Island Main Trunk Railway. Although he was transferred to Wellington in 1905,[41] even there he remained a minor figure in the design team Campbell led. The Court House built in 1898-9 in Palmerston North (a town located within Burrows' geographic area of responsibility)[42] recalls Burrows' Wellington Supreme Court House, suggesting that he had some involvement in its design. Generally, however, Campbell ensured that the works erected in Palmerston North, as elsewhere, conformed to the standard designs he created, rather than those of the Clayton-inspired era Burrows had come to represent. Never regaining the prominence in the public service he once enjoyed, Burrows retired in 1908.

Campbell's chief assistant from 1899 was rather a new recruit to the public service, Charles Alexander Lawrence (1872-1933).[43] A fellow Scot, Lawrence served his articles in Aberdeen with Jenkins and Marr between 1890-5,[44] arriving in New Zealand in 1896. He worked for Thomas Turnbull in Wellington for two and a half years before joining Campbell's office in January 1899. Although he never attained a permanent post in the public service and his official title was never more than draughtsman, he was regarded as Campbell's chief assistant shortly after his appointment. He took charge of the office when Campbell had six months leave in 1901 and although he

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[41]W, 3, 35, f. 370; W, 3, 36, f. 419 & W, 3, 37, f. 430.

[42]On the erection of the Palmerston North Court House see *A.J.H.R.*, 1898, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 83 & *ibid.*, 1899, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 98.

[43]Born 10 December 1872. See W, 14, 4. Died 30 January 1933. See affidavit of Francis H. Swan, probate ref: AAOM, 6029, 1933/52211 (box 764).

[44]Candidate's Statement, Application papers for Admission as a Licentiate of the R.I.B.A., 1911.

left Campbell's office in 1907 (joining the Wellington-based firm of Penty and Blake)[45] he collaborated with Campbell on the preparation of a competition entry for new Parliament Buildings as late as 1911.[46]

In 1909 Llewelyn Lincoln Richards (1865-1945)[47] replaced Lawrence as chief assistant. Like Lawrence, Richards was first appointed to Campbell's office in 1899 and quickly won his confidence; Campbell described him in 1911 as a 'thoroughly qualified architect of unerring & mature judgement'.[48] Born in Pantycellyn, Wales,[49] Richards served his articles between 1881-6 under Henry Williams (b. 1842) of Bristol,[50] best known for Everard's Printing Factory, Bristol (1900),[51] but also for other works which employ classical elements in a free and playful manner.[52] Although Richards

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[45]Edward Blake was also one of Campbell's former staff. When Blake withdrew from the firm, Lawrence entered into a partnership with Penty, practising as Penty and Lawrence from about 1910.

[46]On the Parliament Buildings competition and Lawrence's involvement see chapter seven, pp. 321-6, especially p. 325.

[47]Born 3 October 1865. See W, 14, 4. Died 17 September 1945. Death Certificate, Registrar-General's Office, Lower Hutt.

[48]Proposer's Statement, Application papers for Admission as a Licentiate of the R.I.B.A., 1911.

[49]On his early background in Wales see 'Government Architects, Two Retirements', *Progress*, July 1922, p. 249.

[50]On Henry Williams see Alison Felstead, Jonathan Franklin and Leslie Pinfield, *Directory of British Architects 1834-1900*, London, 1993, p. 996.

[51]A building noted for its Art Nouveau glazed terracotta tiles. The 'ceramic splendours' of Williams' Everard's Factory Bristol (1900) rates a mention in Alastair Service, *Edwardian Architecture: A Handbook to Building Design in Britain 1890-1914*, London, 1977, as an example of the 'influence of Harrison Townsend's free design' and of the occasional use of the free style in commercial architecture. Everard's Printery is also mentioned by Pevsner (Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: North Somerset and Bristol*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, first published 1958, 1973 reprint, p. 426). Pevsner describes the building as being in 'the wildest Art Nouveau'.

[52]Pevsner notes (*ibid.*, p. 388) that the tower of Christ Church, Broad Street, Bristol (1786-90) suffers from Williams' neo-Renaissance portal (1883) and describes Williams' Stock Exchange in Bristol as 'one-storeyed, of ornate debased Italian form, with black marble columns. As shockingly late as 1903'. (See *ibid.*, p. 424).

continued to work for Williams as an assistant after completing his articles,[53] his subsequent career was unsettled. Like Rumsey before him, he found it difficult to find secure and permanent employment in the colonies. In 1888 Richards worked as an Assistant to C. A. Harding in Sydney and between 1889 and 1891 as a draughtsman in Brisbane. By 1892 he had returned to Britain, working as Williams' Chief Assistant until 1895 when he set up his own practice in Pontypridd, South Wales. The following year he returned to Australia and it was there that his career as a public service architect began. Between 1896 and 1899 he worked as an Architectural Draughtsman for the Public Works Department in Western Australia, preparing drawings for a Harbour Master's Office, Cliff Street, Fremantle (c. 1897),[54] and the Geraldton Public Buildings,[55] among other works. When he was made redundant during a period of government retrenchment in 1899 he moved to New Zealand, writing to the Public Works Department from Christchurch on 11 March 1899 requesting work as a draughtsman.[56] A week later he accepted a post as a temporary draughtsman,[57] beginning work in Wellington on 4 April 1899. Although he was transferred to Hunterville on 8 May 1901 (when Burrows had leave from the Hunterville office to visit Britain), he returned to Wellington on 9

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[53]During his time with Williams - as articled pupil and assistant - Richards 'prepared working drawings for the Bristol Electric Light Station, Messrs Mardon Son & Halls printing works, Offices for Lloyds Bank Ld. Bristol and a large number of other more or less important works'. Candidate's Statement, Application papers for Admission as a Licentiate of the R.I.B.A., 1911.

[54]Logged as P.W.D. 4808 in the Public Works Department Job Books, held by the Building Management Authority, Perth. Correspondence with Barbara van Bronswijk, Perth, Western Australia, 20 February 1995.

[55]Candidate's Statement, Application as Licentiate, Royal Institute of British Architects, 1911.

[56]See W, 2, entry 1899/948.

[57]*Ibid.*, entry 1899/1062.

January 1903.[58] Richards then worked in Campbell's office until his retirement in 1922, the same year in which Campbell himself retired. Deeply religious, of quiet and 'painstaking' character, he was in many ways the model of the anonymous public servant. Although his work was little known outside the Architectural Branch, within the office, Richards was a respected figure who contributed much to the design of some of the more monumental and exuberant Imperial Baroque buildings built even before his appointment as Campbell's chief assistant in 1909, notably the Public Trust Office, Wellington (1905-8).[59]

A number of more junior staff in the office hierarchy also played a notable role in the creation of the new architectural image established for the Liberal Government. According to Vine, although most of the buildings erected by the Public Works Department under Campbell 'could be considered as being of his design or influence... in the later years Claude Paton was regarded as the principal designer'.[60] Paton (1881-1953)[61] was not appointed to Campbell's Office until 1906, but his background, so far as can now be established, conformed to that of the draughting staff Campbell began appointing from the mid 1890s.

Born in Scotland, Paton had only recently arrived in New Zealand when he was appointed to Campbell's office.[62] His father, an

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[58]W, 14, 4.

[59]On the Wellington Public Trust Office see chapter seven, pp. 305-11.

[60]W. F. C. Vine, 'John Campbell: F.R.I.B.A.', unpublished typescript, June 1957, p. 3. Sheppard Collection, School of Architecture, University of Auckland.

[61]Born 11 August 1881. See W, 14, 4. Died 2 July 1953. See death certificate, Registrar-General's Office, Lower Hutt.

[62]Unlike the other office staff Campbell entrusted with special responsibilities, Paton did not apply for membership of either the Royal Institute of British Architects or the New Zealand Institute of Architects (formed 1905).

Edinburgh watchmaker, died before his birth and he was brought up by relatives, 'the Hays', in Stirling.[63] He later trained in Glasgow,[64] though little information survives about the nature of his training. He and his family referred to his occupation as draftsman rather than architect,[65] suggesting that he may not have completed articles as an architect before his appointment to Campbell's office. He joined the Architectural Branch as a temporary draftsman on 10 September 1906, having worked in Masterton for a year, presumably also as a draftsman. His appointment was designated permanent in 1911.[66] By the time he retired in 1946 he had attained the post of senior draftsman but the most creative phase of his career was the period 1906-22 when he enjoyed some degree of autonomy in designing buildings under Campbell's aegis.

Two other staff, Thomas James McCosker (1863-1952)[67] and Peter James Nicoll (1878-?), both appointed around the turn of the century, also had special responsibilities within Campbell's office. Born in Singleton, New South Wales, McCosker became a Member of the New South Wales Institute of Architects,[68] presumably having completed his articles in that colony. On 17 April 1899 he was appointed as a temporary architectural draftsman in the Dunedin office of the Public Works Department. He was transferred to Campbell's Wellington office

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[63]According to his daughter, Mrs Mouat, Wellington.

[64]See also 'Obituary', *Evening Post*, 9 July 1953, p. 10.

[65]Conversation with Mrs Mouat, Wellington. See also Paton's death certificate which records his occupation as 'Retired Draughtsman'.

[66]His title changed from 'temporary draftsman' to 'draftsman' on 1 March 1911.

[67]Date of Birth, W, 14, 5; date of death, Death Certificate, Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Lower Hutt.

[68]Correspondence with Mrs Glennis Cowell, Architecture Conservation Committee, Royal Australian Institute of Architects, 10 January 1994.

in 1906 and a year later his appointment was designated permanent.[69] By at least 1917, when Vine was appointed as a cadet, he was known as the 'writer of specifications'.[70]

Nicoll, yet another Scot, was appointed in 1900. He had also trained as an architect serving his articles under C. and W. Mitchell, Laugherne, and John Bruce and Sons Architects, Dundee,[71] but in Campbell's office he was regarded as an engineer.[72] This post grew in importance as the office became responsible for construction of more monumental, multi-storey public buildings in the first decades of the twentieth century. By 1910 Nicoll had joined the Concrete Institute (later renamed the Institution of Structural Engineers),[73] reflecting his increasingly specialised role as a structural engineer in Campbell's office.

In addition to the senior and specialist staff (Campbell, Richards, Paton, McCosker and Nicoll) by August 1913, when the office was probably at its largest, there were six architectural draftsmen,[74] one architectural tracer (Arthur T. Ford) and three

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[69]W, 14, 4. He left the public service about 1922, the year Campbell retired, establishing a private practice heavily involved in work for the Catholic Church on the West Coast and in Wellington. See Terence Hodgson's list of *Evening Post* tender notices, Wellington.

[70]Correspondence with W. F. C. Vine, Auckland, 1987.

[71]Candidate's Statement, Application papers for Admission as a Licentiate of the R.I.B.A., 1911/12. John Bruce and Sons are listed as 'commencing practice Dundee and Carnoustie, c. 1870' in Charles McKean & David Walker, *Dundee: An Illustrated Introduction*, Edinburgh, 1985 (second ed.), p. 146.

[72]Nicoll is last listed as a member of the Institution of Structural Engineers in 1947-8. Correspondence with Librarian, Institution of Structural Engineers, 16 December 1993.

[73]On the importance of advances in building technology in the construction large, monumental public buildings in the Edwardian era see Richard Fellows, *Edwardian Architecture: Style and Technology*, London, 1995, chapter 3 'Technology, Form and Style', pp. 49-73.

[74]W. H. Hislop (appointed 1 July 1896), Alan Stevenson (appointed 16 November 1905), B. F. Kelly (appointed 19 February 1906), D. C. Hay (appointed 8 April 1907), R. A. Patterson (appointed as a cadet 9 May 1908), Harold Matthewman (appointed 16 June 1911). *Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 20 August 1913, pp. 2610.

architectural cadets, G. F. Penlington, F. G. Bradley and C. E. J. Price.[75] Other architectural staff who reported to Campbell were located in the Public Works Department's District Offices in Auckland (L. H. Keals and Marcus King) and Christchurch (Everand Charles Farr).[76] Capitalising on the growth of the state which began in the 1890s, Campbell was, by 1913, head of the largest architectural office in the country.[77]

In spite of its size, the office was remarkably homogenous in character. Of the various senior and specialist staff appointed under Campbell's thirty-two year stewardship (assistant architect, (chief) draughtsman, structural engineer, and writer of specifications) only Richards and McCosker were not born in Scotland. None was English and most had only recently completed their articles when they arrived in New Zealand, their formative years having been spent in Britain. The Branch also had a more stable work-force than any earlier governmental office. Many draughtsmen were originally appointed as 'temporary' but their jobs were generally secure. From 1912, tenure was guaranteed under the Public Service Act provided staff were of 'good behaviour'. Also under the provisions of the Act, public servants were considered for promotion ahead of applicants from the private sector, a policy, first put into practice in the 1840s, which encouraged architects to remain in the public

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[75] *Ibid.*

[76] There was possibly also a staff member in the Wellington District Office. An officer, J. Louch, had been appointed amidst controversy to a Wellington District Office when the office was created in 1908. See *Dominion*, 21 August 1908, p. 4; 17 August 1908, p. 8 & 18 August 1908, p. 4.

[77] The *New Zealand Census 1916*, Wellington, 1918, p. 113, records the existence of 329 architects, 29 apprentices and 16 assistants in New Zealand on census night. *Wise's Post Office Directory* for the same year lists about 200 architectural practices, suggesting that most were no more than one-man firms.

service. (The presumption in favour of public servants assisted one of Campbell's former cadets, Robert Adams Patterson, to become Government Architect in 1941.)[78]

As well as appointing staff, the process of creating an efficient architectural office involved making fresh arrangements for the construction of buildings. Frustrated by the poor performance of some private contractors,[79] the Liberals began to contract for labour under 'co-operative contracts' negotiated directly with groups (co-operatives) of workers. At first co-operative contracts were negotiated only for construction of railways but by the mid 1890s they were also being used for public buildings. From about 1896 they were the preferred means of securing labour for all public works. District Offices of the Public Works Department were advised that year that they were not to authorise work by competitive tender or day labour without special permission from the Department's Head Office.[80]

The Liberals also reviewed the means by which competitive tenders were decided. From the mid 1890s preference was given to tenders for New Zealand materials,[81] preventing a repetition of the controversial practice of importing timber for, among other works, the General Government Offices. Later, in 1909, a Tenders Board was

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[78]Patterson was Government Architect 1941-52. See Ministry of Works, *A Brief History of Public Buildings in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1970, unpaginated &, on Patterson, G. C. Peterson (ed.), *Who's Who in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1961, p. 230.

[79]See Noonan, p. 72. In the worst instances, contractors had failed to pay workers, jobs were abandoned incomplete and workmanship was poor.

[80]*Ibid.*, pp. 78, 79 & circular W, 4, 10/96.

[81]In practice, however, difficulties in supply made compliance difficult. The Cabinet directed on 30 April 1894 that 'only Colonial [New Zealand] furniture' was to be bought to furnish courthouses and other government buildings (see W, 4, 1, circular no. 6 - 94) but a year later it was decided that because of the higher prices of colonial furniture and difficulties in supply, imported furniture could be bought (*ibid.*, 15/95).

established in an effort to remove the tendering process from political influence.[82] Among the Board's responsibilities was the negotiation of the supply of building materials, many products being stock-piled in government stores in a revival of the 1840s practice. Campbell sat on the Board in his capacity as Government Architect.[83]

As head of a large, progressive architectural office, Campbell received an increasing amount of information from overseas which shaped his approach towards government architecture. By the mid 1880s the Public Works Department subscribed to the *Builder* and probably other British building journals as well. These journals were complemented during the 1890s with an increasing amount of information from the Australian colonies.[84] Queensland supplied a copy of its Public Works report for 1898-99,[85] for example, and a steady supply of official reports was received from Western Australia,[86] where a former New Zealand Public Works Department engineer, C. Y. O'Connor, was in charge of public works from 1891 to 1902.[87] Even the Cape of Good Hope occasionally sent copies of its reports, in 1904, for example,[88] and in 1913 the Bureau of Public

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[82]Since the Minister of Public Works was a member of the Board, it was only nominally apolitical.

[83]W, 4, 4, circular 30/1909.

[84]As early as 1874 New Zealand's Public Works Department received the annual report of the Public Works Department in South Australia for the previous year. W, 2, entry 1874/2990. Similar reports were received from Tasmania in 1886. (see *ibid.*, entry 1886/4818) and in 1888 (see *ibid.*, entry 1888/3564).

[85]*Ibid.*, entry 1900/3965.

[86]See, for example, *ibid.*, entries 1898/1218; 1901/6271; 1905/4943; 1906/1379 & 1901/6271.

[87]On O'Connor see Merab Tauman, *The Chief: C. Y. O'Connor*, Nedlands, Western Australia, 1978.

[88]Public Works Department inwards correspondence register entry 1904/1625.

Works, Manila, sent a copy of its report on public works for the preceding financial year.[89]

No longer, however, was the Architectural Branch merely the recipient of information. In 1895 the Public Works Department of Western Australia requested lithographs of New Zealand's standard plans for public buildings[90] and in 1898 and 1901 New Zealand's Public Works Department sent copies of its annual reports (which included illustrations of some works)[91] to most of the Australian public works departments.[92] In addition, enquiries were received about New Zealand building materials. The Premier of Natal made enquiries about Oamaru stone in 1902, for example.[93] By at least 1900 the Architectural Branch was thus part of a British imperial community of government architects who regularly communicated with each other via governmental reports.

After some initial hesitancy, Campbell had succeeded in creating an office equal to the challenges which confronted it. Increasing the number of staff, securing adequate resources to construct government buildings and ensuring that the Architectural Branch shared information with its overseas counterparts, Campbell, aided by the Liberals' policies, had accomplished a notable organisational feat. He was no less successful in creating a modern style of government architecture which captured something of the

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[89] *Ibid.*, entry 1913/2950.

[90] *Ibid.*, entry 1895/801.

[91] See *A.J.H.R.*, 1901, D.-1, p. 133.

[92] W, 2, entries 1898/897; 1898/898; 1898/899; 1898/932; 1898/978; 1901/107; 1901/108; 1901/109; 1901/6273; 1901/6274; 1901/6276 & 1902/6030 (report sent to South Australia).

[93] *Ibid.*, entry 1902/3090.

spirit of the political ideals the Liberals sought to write into legislation.

ii. Government Buildings in the 1890s: The Architectural Branch's Early Works

At first the Branch erected buildings in the Queen Anne style. Closely associated in Britain with progressive and liberal political causes such as education, enfranchisement of women and temperance,[94] the Queen Anne style captured the political mood of New Zealand liberalism. An added attraction was that brick, the principal building material of Queen Anne structures, was relatively cheap. For this reason Campbell's immediate predecessors (Beatson, Burrows and Clayton) had already used brick for General Government buildings, though they preferred a plaster finish.

As the Architectural Branch grew and became better organised so the buildings it designed became more boldly modelled. After experimenting with the use of the Queen Anne style, the Branch had, by the turn of the century, established Imperial Baroque as the preferred architectural style of New Zealand government.[95] At its simplest, the transition from Queen Anne to Imperial Baroque reflects nothing more than the natural predilection of a British architectural office, and a British colony, to follow a change in British architectural taste. However, from the outset Imperial Baroque better satisfied Campbell's own taste for monumental classicism than

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[94]On the social background of Queen Anne see Mark Girouard, *Sweetness and Light: The Queen Anne Movement 1860-1900*, Oxford, 1977, pp. 2-9.

[95]On the emergence of the Imperial Baroque as the architectural style of British government see chapter seven, pp. 296-8.

Queen Anne, a taste already evident in the designs he created while working for the Dunedin office of the Public Works Department.

Nowhere was the transition from Queen Anne to Imperial Baroque more obvious than in the buildings the Architectural Branch erected in the main centres, notably, the Porirua Lunatic Asylum (1891 onwards), additions to Beatson's Government Printing Office, Wellington (built 1895-6), and the roughly contemporaneous Dunedin Gaol (1895-7). Campbell's interest in the historical architecture of his homeland, Scotland, is also revealed in his Dunedin Gaol and a further work designed in the 1890s, the Dunedin Law Courts (1899-1902), built alongside it.

The Porirua Lunatic Asylum[96] was the first major General
103. Government building erected in the Queen Anne style.[97] An asylum had already been established at Porirua in 1887 in 'a timber building capable of accommodating thirty patients'[98] when, in 1891, the Government decided to erect a brick building. The Architectural Branch's designs for the asylum were prepared by 3 February 1891[99] and it was constructed by 1894,[100] growing in piecemeal fashion throughout the 1890s and beyond.[101] Originally it had a cruciform plan, the central spine containing a dining room, kitchen and various store and heating rooms. Dormitories led off the northern end. The

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[96]See Richardson, pp. 53-6.

[97]Note, however, that a municipal government building, the former City Council Chambers, Christchurch (1886-7), designed by Samuel Hurst Seager, had already been built in the Queen Anne style. For an illustration and brief account of this building see Porter (ed.), *Historic Buildings of New Zealand: South Island*, pp. 106-8.

[98]*Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 1 (Wellington Provincial District), Wellington, 1897, p. 1075.

[99]*A.J.H.R.*, 1891, D.-1, Appendix G, p. 30.

[100]*Ibid.*, 1894, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 41.

[101]The original asylum buildings were demolished in the 1940s.

facades were in a relatively spare version of Queen Anne: pilaster strips capped by spheres, shaped and Dutch gables with intersecting pilaster strips and strings, decorative terracotta panels, and turrets of rectangular and polygonal form.[102]

Shoppee's unbuilt project for a New Zealand Asylum notwithstanding, lunatic asylums in New Zealand had previously been built by provincial governments in architectural styles which reflected the origins of the provinces themselves; Scots Baronial for Seacliff Lunatic Asylum in Otago,[103] Gothic for Sunnyside Lunatic Asylum in Canterbury[104] and Italianate classicism for Carrington Lunatic Asylum in the more polyglot former capital, Auckland.[105] In the use of the Queen Anne style, Campbell's Porirua Lunatic Asylum therefore marked a notable departure from the regionalist approaches of the provinces as well as an important development in the evolution of a new central government architecture.

Campbell's designs for substantial additions to Beatson's Government Printing Office along Lambton Quay further contributed to its evolution, while also representing an implicit rejection of the Italianate styles used by Clayton and his successors. Beatson's partially-built design for an Italianate office were available to

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[102]On the addition of a new male dormitory for 78 patients (1896), see *A.J.H.R.*, 1896, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 57, and on a new female wing (1899), see *ibid.*, 1899, D.-1, Appendix E, p. 99. Both were built using the same architectural vocabulary as the original asylum building. In its complete form, a clock tower with an ogee cupola marked the public entrance to the complex.

[103]On the Seacliff Lunatic Asylum see Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, 'From the Athens of the North' to the 'Edinburgh of the South': The Architecture of Robert Arthur Lawson', *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, vol. 13, 1992, pp. 12-3 & F. Tod, *The History of Seacliff*, Dunedin, 1970.

[104]On Sunnyside Asylum see Judith Hamilton, 'Sunnyside Hospital: The Development of its Buildings from ca. 1863 to 1900', ARTH 603 essay, School of Fine Arts, University of Canterbury, 1985.

[105]On the Auckland Asylum see Terence Hodgson, *The Heart of Colonial Auckland 1865-1910*, Auckland, 1992, p. 77.

Campbell. However, rather than authorise completion of the Government Printing Office to Beatson's design, Campbell created his own designs. His first was created as early as 1891 and his second in 1893. Work on the foundations of a new wing began in June 1895[106] and its construction (to Campbell's 1893 design) was completed in October 1896.[107] Both the original and later designs cast further light on the way in which a new architectural style of government emerged.

In his 1891 project Campbell experimented with the free use of
104. some of the elements of Beatson's building (notably segmental headed windows, a bracketed cornice and triangular pediments) in a design which, though compatible with Beatson's, is also readily identifiable as his own work. The twin, cupola-capped towers, ultimately derived from Wren's twin towers at the Royal Naval Hospital, Greenwich (completed 1704 and 1735), and the heavy rustication of the ground and first floor pilasters, already anticipate the Imperial Baroque works Campbell was to erect in the early twentieth century.

By 1893 Campbell was even more interested in creating a
105. distinctive new elevation for the Government Printing Office than in constructing an addition in keeping with Beatson's extant building. Rather than using the architectural elements Beatson used, Campbell's 1893 design includes many of the Queen Anne elements of the Porirua Lunatic Asylum designs: brick pilaster strips, Dutch gables (in preference to the triangular pediments of the 1891 project), and decorative terracotta panels which, in the Government Printing Office design, commemorate important figures in the history

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[106] *A.J.H.R.*, 1896, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 57.

[107] W, 1, 24/188, Part 0 (C), Wilson to Under-Secretary of Public Works, 5 September 1896.

of printing.[108] Again, the design anticipates some of Campbell's Imperial Baroque works. The striped voussoirs and brickwork (notably around the entrances) anticipate the vigorous striped facades of later government buildings. Minor changes to the detailing made after the preparation of a perspective of the building in about 1893, while construction was under way, served only to emphasise its
106. Baroque qualities - the pediments of the Dutch gables, for example, were constructed so that they protrude further than illustrated in Campbell's perspective, being supported by prominent brackets rather than the comparatively thin pilaster strips Campbell first envisaged.

Campbell's near contemporaneous design for the Dunedin Gaol likewise reveals an interest in constructing a new, progressive architectural image for the Government and an underlying interest in Baroque eclecticism. Like the Government Printing Office, the
107. Dunedin Gaol[109] was an adjunct to an existing building, a gaol built in 1861 by the Otago Provincial Government.[110] Campbell's design for the Gaol also superseded an earlier, unrealised project, a design for a new prison and police station prepared in 1889 by Daniel Mahony, an architect in private practice. By 1891 construction of Mahony's project was already in doubt, a police station was that year being built to a design by William Crichton[111] on the Castle Street site probably first intended for Mahony's prison complex. Three years later Mahony's project was officially rejected. Premier Richard

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[108]Among them William Caxton and Johann Gutenberg (printers), Aloys Senefelder (inventor of lithography) and Louis Daguerre and Joseph Niepce (co-discoverers of the daguerreotype photographic process).

[109]On the Dunedin Gaol see Richardson, pp. 59-64.

[110]A floor plan dated 1862 signed by Charles Swyer, Provincial Engineer survives as IA, 1, 62/1793.

[111]The drawings (W, 15, P.W.D. 16613) were signed by Crichton in April 1890.

Seddon decided instead to commission new designs, commenting at the same time that Burrows' Mt Eden Prison was a structure built 'to resist the attacks of a battalion of artillery', an opinion he had probably also formed of Mahony's monumental project. In Seddon's opinion the Dunedin Gaol should be 'a lighter and neater gaol [than Mt Eden] and one more in accordance with modern ideas'.[112]

By 1895, when Campbell was commissioned to produce new designs for a gaol, construction of Crichton's police station had been completed next to the gaol site. Although he had probably approved its construction, the Venetian Renaissance elements of Crichton's facades still owed a debt to the Italianate architectural tradition of New Zealand government architecture that Campbell ultimately rejected. By contrast, Campbell's own design for the gaol,[113] built between January 1895 and August 1897,[114] looks forward to the evolution of a new, Baroque governmental style.

Although the plan is conventional (multi-storey wings with separate cells are arranged around a rectangular exercise yard),[115] the administration block fronting Castle Street, modelled on Richard Norman Shaw's New Scotland Yard (1887-90), presented exactly the progressive architectural image Seddon envisaged. Shaw's New Scotland Yard was an entirely appropriate model. In its free use of Baroque elements it marks a transitional phase in Shaw's work between his early Free Style and later Imperial Baroque designs which exactly

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[112] *N.Z.P.D.*, vol. 183, 1894, p. 195.

[113] Now euphemistically referred to as a Police Station.

[114] *A.J.H.R.*, 1895, D.-1, Appendix E, p. 46 & *ibid.*, 1898, D.-1, Appendix E, p. 96.

[115] *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 4 (Otago and Southland Provincial Districts), Christchurch, 1905, p. 142.

parallels the state of Campbell's work in the mid 1890s. Moreover, the Scots Baronial inflection of Shaw's design had an obvious appeal for Campbell, the use of tourelles for the Gaol reflecting and contributing to the Scottish architectural character of Victorian Dunedin while also reflecting his own taste for the architecture of his native Scotland.

The building in which Campbell most clearly indulged his taste
108. for Scottish architecture, however, was the Dunedin Law Courts,[116] built adjacent to the Gaol in a Gothic style with a Scots Baronial inflection. Designed by 22 November 1899,[117] the Law Courts were under construction in June 1900[118] and opened almost exactly two years later, on 23 June 1902.[119] A late example of secular Gothic architecture, the courts testify to the influence of the Royal Courts of Justice, London (1866-82), but also to Scots Baronial court houses such as Peddie and Kinnear's Greenock Court House (1867).[120] A more immediate source than both of these British models was Maxwell Bury's University of Otago building,[121] Dunedin (designed 1877), in turn modelled on Sir George Gilbert Scott's Glasgow University (1864-70). The composition of the Stuart Street elevation of Campbell's Law Courts, a long range with a central entrance tower, invites comparison with both buildings. Indebted as much to Bury's building as the overseas models on which it was based, the Law Courts, like

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[116]On the Dunedin Law Courts see Richardson, pp. 66-70.

[117]W, 15, P.W.D. 18677.

[118]W, 33, 344. Contract, p. 1.

[119]*Otago Witness*, 25 June 1902, p. 23.

[120]Illustrated in the *Builder*, 19 January 1867, p. 45.

[121]For an illustration and brief account of this building see Dorothy Ballantyne, 'Educational Buildings of Otago', *Historic Buildings of New Zealand: South Island*, (Frances Porter, ed.), pp. 171-5.

the Gaol, provide evidence of a sensitivity towards architectural context and location which also characterised Clayton's approach towards design of government buildings in the main centres.

The emergence of a new architectural image for the government can also be documented in the provinces. Though the emphasis in the 1890s was on the construction of buildings in brick Campbell was still required to design in timber. As a Scot, he probably had little, if any, experience working in timber before his arrival in New Zealand. Lacking much interest or personal flair for the work, even in the colony his involvement in constructing timber buildings was limited. Competitions for the larger provincial timber government buildings were organised in the 1890s,[122] while Campbell himself continued to use existing standard plans for smaller works, resulting in some continuity with the Clayton era rather than the immediate establishment of a new governmental style. A standard
109. design for a residence for a master of a native school prepared before Campbell's appointment to the Wellington office was lithographed several times,[123] and approved for construction by William Hales, the Engineer-in-Chief of the Public Works Department as late as 1897. Similarly, Campbell's designs for native schools conform to earlier models. The gabled roofs, hood moulds, and the
110. exposed scissor trusses of the class D design, for example, were also

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[122]Competitions were held for the Palmerston North and Gisborne Court Houses, for example. Crichton, made redundant in 1892, won the competition for the Palmerston North Court House in 1893 (see *A.J.H.R.*, 1893, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 40). Burrows (then in partnership with Turnbull) won the 1894 competition for the Gisborne Court House. Burrows and Turnbull's designs are registered in W, 16 as P.W.D. 17225, 17226 & 17271.

[123]Registered in W, 16 as P.W.D. 17964 and P.W.D. 18131.

used by Beatson and his colleagues for the design of small timber school houses during the 1870s and 1880s.[124] Likewise, Campbell's standard design for a '[government] officers cottage' with a hipped
111. roof and a skillion at the rear did not differ greatly from earlier designs, nor from many contemporary timber houses.[125] Many of
112. Campbell's court house designs - for Mangonui (1892)[126] and Leeston (1898),[127] for example - also resembled Burrows' and Beatson's, though they had slightly different detailing.

Despite this continuity with the Clayton era, by the mid 1890s Campbell had created a new standardised government building form which superseded most of Clayton's models. At its most basic, Campbell's prototype has a rectangular plan, a hipped roof, and gables projecting over the entrance and windows at the centre of the side elevations, as well as vertical and horizontal battens which subdivide the timber-clad surfaces. At times a porch is included instead of a gable over the main entrance. Buildings which conform
113. to this model were erected as court houses in Hunterville (1895),[128] Featherston (1897),[129] Mangaweka (1900),[130] Collingwood (1900-1901);[131] as customs houses in Hokitika (1896-7)[132] and Napier

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[124]See, for example, Beatson's Te Matai Native School (c.1885) in John Warwick Kellaway, *Education 150: From Schoolhouse to Classpace in the Waikato-Bay of Plenty* [Hamilton, 1981], pp. 82-3.

[125]For illustrations of similar villas see Jeremy Salmond, *Old New Zealand Houses 1800-1940*, Auckland, 1987, especially p. 156.

[126]W, 15, P.W.D. 16927. See also *A.J.H.R.*, 1893, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 34 & on repairs *ibid.*, 1896, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 55.

[127]W, 15, P.W.D. 18613.

[128]W, 15, P.W.D. 17477.

[129]W, 15, P.W.D. 17341. The additional porch is shown on drawings 1/3 & 3/3.

[130]W, 15, P.W.D. 18832.

[131]W, 15, P.W.D. 19010.

114. (1895);[133] as a post office in Takaka (with a residential wing) (1900)[134] and as a police station in Greymouth (1893).[135]

The pavilion form of these buildings look back to the design Campbell first prepared for the Palmerston Post and Telegraph Office in 1886. The vertical and horizontal battens have other sources, however. They have a visual affinity with the exposed frames of Thatcher's work but, as the use of shingles above windows and the design of the porch of the Takaka Post and Telegraph Office reveals, Campbell's ultimate inspiration is American Stick and Shingle style designs. An interest in Baroque eclecticism also emerges, some timber designs being enlivened by Baroque elements. A broken
115. pediment is included in the design for the Otahuhu Court House and Police Station (1894), for example.

Campbell's brick government buildings in the provinces have a similar form to their timber counterparts, consisting of a rectangular, hip-roofed block with either a gable or gabled porch at the centre of the front elevation. Unlike the timber buildings, however, the amount of ornamentation varies widely. At the beginning of his term as Draughtsman in charge of the Public Works Department's Architectural Branch Campbell erected such spare brick government buildings as the court houses at Kaiapoi (1890),[136]
116. Whangarei (1891),[137] and Rangiora (1892-3),[138] all probably designed

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[132] See W, 15, P.W.D. 17771. Plan no. P.W.D. 17800 for the Hokitika Customs House was registered in W, 16 in 1896 but is not extant.

[133] W, 15, P.W.D. 17446.

[134] W, 15, P.W.D. 18642 & 18768 (revised design as built).

[135] W, 15, P.W.D. 17035. Approved by William H. Hales on 23.12.92.

[136] *Press*, 15 March 1890, p. 5.

[137] W, 15, P.W.D. 1499.

[138] W, 15, P.W.D. 17030. See also *A.J.H.R.*, 1892, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 36 & *ibid.*, 1894, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 41.

by Crichton. Towards the end of the 1890s the facades of provincial government buildings erected in permanent materials (such as the
117. Marton Court House (1897)[139]) were also ornamented with swags, scroll pediments and other ornament with a Baroque exuberance which characterises Campbell's mature architectural style. Similarly exuberant hip-roofed brick buildings were erected as post and telegraph offices at Marton (1896-7),[140] Eketahuna(1900-01)[141] and
118. Opunake (1900-01).[142]

Campbell's most notable achievement in the design of government buildings for the provinces was the creation of a new model for larger post and telegraph offices. It has two storey wings in an 'L' plan, with a tower at the junction of the wings and a single storey portion fitted behind the wings into the angle of the 'L'. A large number of post offices of this type were erected on corner sites along the main streets of the larger provincial towns in the early twentieth century before the First World War.

Two buildings, the Masterton (1899-1900) and Ashburton (1900-1) Post Offices, document the emergence of this new post office form around the turn of the century. Designs for the Masterton Post
119. Office were completed in May 1899,[143] a contract was signed for

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[139]W, 15, P.W.D. 17489. See also *A.J.H.R.*, 1898, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 83 & A. Beaglehole, 'Buildings Classification Committee Report: Court House - Marton', Wellington, February 1975, held by New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington.

[140]*A.J.H.R.*, 1896, D. -1, Appendix F, p. 56 & *ibid.*, 1897, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 62.

[141]W, 32, no. 401, *Evening Post*, 16 March 1901, p. 2 & Richardson, pp. 143, 175.

[142]W, 15, P.W.D. 18864; W, 35, 2, f. 264, entry 435 & Richardson, pp. 142-3, 175. The analysis of the detailing (p. 143) should, however, be ignored.

[143]See W, 15, P.W.D. 22741 & W, 32, 18518.

construction of the building the following month and the building was completed by May 1900.[144] Its Ashburton counterpart was designed and built slightly later. Designs were completed in October 1900[145] and construction completed by November 1901.[146] The striped brick work, Flemish gables, pilaster strips and strings of both were, by 1900, a familiar part of Campbell's architectural vocabulary, though the towers provided scope for further experimentation. Campbell capped
120. the Masterton tower with a mansard roof and employed a pavilion roof
121. and tourelles on its Ashburton counterpart. While the French architectural inflection of the Masterton building looks back to Burrows' unbuilt project for a French Second Empire public building,[147] the Ashburton Post Office invites comparison with Campbell's roughly contemporaneous Scots Baronial Dunedin Law Courts. Both introduced a monumentality and civic grandeur to their respective towns not previously evident in government architecture in the provinces. The *Evening Post* observed that the Masterton Post Office was 'one of the finest if not the finest of its kind in the provincial towns of the colony'.[148]

Even the construction of the buildings in brick was an innovation. The Ashburton Post Office replaced a timber building destroyed by fire while the erection of a brick building in Masterton was read as an indicator of a new era of reconstruction in the town. At the opening of the Masterton Post Office, the Hon. W. C. Walker

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[144] *Evening Post*, 9 May 1900, p. 6.

[145] W, 15, P.W.D. 19021.

[146] *Press*, 19 November 1901, p. 4.

[147] See chapter five, p. 257 & i11. 96.

[148] *Evening Post*, 10 May 1900, p. 5.

(one-time Acting Postmaster-General), observed that 'Mr Hogg [the Mayor of Masterton] had found Masterton a town of weatherboards and evidently intended that it should be a city of brick',[149] an aspiration Walker contrasted with a Roman Emperor who had 'found Rome a city of brick and had left it a city of marble'.[150] The construction of such post offices provides further evidence of a desire to draw 'disparate towns into one interconnected nation,'[151] but in the early twentieth century brick post offices were also the principal building form through which Imperial Baroque emerged as the architectural style of New Zealand officialdom in the provinces.

With the creation of a range of models for government buildings in the provinces and a more overtly Baroque approach towards design in the main centres, Campbell was well placed to confront the challenges which lay before him. He had succeeded in creating both an architectural office equipped to undertake a large building programme and a distinctive architectural image for the first decade of the Liberals' administration. Under his leadership, government architecture was again characterised by the use of a standard visual vocabulary of forms and a pragmatic rather than theoretical approach towards design, but the vocabulary Campbell used was very different from that of his predecessors. Timber buildings continued to be erected but brick had become established as the accepted material for both metropolitan and provincial works and its use made possible the erection of buildings which were more permanent, monumental and overtly Baroque. As the new century dawned, the Branch was about to

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[149] *Ibid.*

[150] *Ibid.*

[151] Michael Bassett, *Sir Joseph Ward: A Political Biography*, Auckland, 1993, p. 111.

enter a phase of even more vigorous design activity in which Imperial Baroque would emerge as the dominant style of New Zealand government architecture.

CHAPTER SEVEN

From Colony to Dominion: The Imperial Baroque Government Buildings of the Architectural Branch of the Public Works Department, 1900-22

The turn of the century marked a high-point in British imperial consciousness. Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee celebrations in 1897 were characterised by a feeling that Britain was reaching the peak of its commercial and imperial power while the outbreak of war against the Boers in South Africa two years later fuelled imperial fervour. New Zealanders were no less supportive of the British monarchy and the imperial ideal than Britons at 'Home'. The colony celebrated Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee with the same enthusiasm as the British in the Mother Country and it later sent over 6,500 volunteers in ten contingents to South Africa. The colonists organised an impressive reception for the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York, the future George V and Queen Mary, when they toured the colony in 1901[1] and again joined Britain in celebration when Edward VII acceded the throne that year. In imperial celebration, no less than on foreign battlefields, New Zealand earned a reputation as 'the most dutiful of Britain's daughters'.[2]

British imperial fervour and jingoism were given emphatic architectural expression. By looking back to the seventeenth and early eighteenth-century work of Sir Christopher Wren, Sir John Vanbrugh, Nicholas Hawksmoor, Thomas Archer and James Gibbs, British architects in the 1890s sought to create a modern and distinctly British architectural style expressive of Britain's status as an imperial power. For John Brydon, one of the advocates of a modern imperial style, the English

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[1]On the Government's preparations for the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York see *A.J.H.R.*, D.-1, 1901, Appendix E, p. 132.

[2]Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, Auckland, 1991 ed., p. 213.

Renaissance of Wren's work around 1720 was 'the national style - the vernacular of the country'.[3] Thus promoted as distinctively English (though, in reality, an English variant of a continental style), its monumentality and exuberance also seemed to capture and celebrate the spirit of a great Empire.

A free and modern interpretation of the work of Wren and his followers, now known as Imperial Baroque,[4] soon became the preferred architectural style for government buildings. In Britain the construction of municipal government buildings, such as John Belcher's Colchester Town Hall (1897-1902), and central government buildings, such as John Brydon's Government Buildings, Parliament Square (1898-1912), London, confirmed Imperial Baroque as the preferred architectural style for governmental works. Sir Herbert Baker and Sir Edwin Lutyens further increased acceptance of Imperial Baroque as the architectural style of British imperialism in their work in the imperial capital of New Delhi, India.[5]

Throughout the Empire expatriate architects spread the message of imperial solidarity by erecting Imperial Baroque government buildings. In the public buildings designed by John Smith Murdoch (1862-1945) in Queensland, Australia,[6] and David Ewart (1841-1921) in Canada,[7] for

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[3]John Brydon as quoted in Alastair Service, *Edwardian Architecture: A Handbook to Building Design in Britain 1890-1914*, London, 1977, p. 63. See also *ibid.*, p. 142.

[4]The term Imperial Baroque is used in J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern*, London, 1987, chapter 7 ' From Neo-classicism to Imperial Baroque, pp. 193-224. The term 'High Edwardian Baroque' is used by Alastair Service. See Service, chapter 10, pp. 140-157.

[5]On Lutyens' and Baker's work at New Delhi see Robert Irving, *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi*, New Haven, 1981.

[6]On Murdoch's Imperial Baroque works in Queensland see David Rowe, 'Imperial Icons of the Country Town, The Queensland Architecture of John Smith Murdoch at the turn of the Century', a paper given at the 1994 conference of the Society of Architectural Historians (Australia and New Zealand). See also Donald Watson & Judith McKay, *Queensland Architects of the 19th Century: A Biographical Dictionary*, Queensland, 1994, pp. 127-9.

example, Imperial Baroque was the preferred architectural expression of government. So, too, in New Zealand John Campbell and his newly-created office enthusiastically embraced Imperial Baroque as the preferred architectural style for New Zealand's government buildings.

Despite strong support for the imperial ideal and its architectural expression through construction of Imperial Baroque government buildings, nationalist sentiment was growing. In 1901 the separate colonies of the continent of Australia federated to form a nation. Six years later, in September 1907, at Premier Ward's behest, New Zealand was designated a Dominion,[8] a change in status which acknowledged the increasing independence and maturity of the nation within the British Empire. New Zealand was also beginning to assert its independence within the South Pacific. From the 1880s New Zealand's political leaders debated but finally rejected federation with the Australian colonies. According to Premier Ballance, the citizens of New Zealand should be 'New Zealanders and Britons',[9] a phrase which neatly expressed twin loyalties to nation and Empire.

Nationalist sentiment found architectural expression in the colonies as surely as British imperial fervour. Even in as British a nation as New Zealand, the process of replacing colonial timber buildings with structures in permanent materials, central to the Liberals' building programme, was read by politicians and public alike as evidence of New Zealand's 'coming of age'. Increasingly New Zealanders were concerned that buildings should not only, in the

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[7]On Ewart's government buildings see Harold Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, vol. 2, Oxford, 1994, pp. 546-9.

[8]On the change of title see Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity*, Wellington, 1986, p. 179.

[9]Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, p. 226.

conventional phrases of the day, be 'handsome' and an 'ornament' to the town in which they were built but also that they should be 'worthy of the Dominion'. Some hoped that the more prestigious would be as impressive as those in the other, larger British territories, especially those in Australia, the country with which New Zealanders' sense of competition was strongest.

The Liberals' long-standing instruction that New Zealand materials should be used for public works ensured, too, that government buildings were demonstrably 'of New Zealand'. Admittedly, the Liberals' objective in promoting the use of New Zealand materials was to support and foster the growth of the New Zealand building industry rather than the expression of nationalist sentiment in architecture. Nevertheless, it was because of this policy, and wartime shortages of imported materials, that even the most prestigious government office buildings in New Zealand were erected using mainly New Zealand materials and the attitude that they were merely substitutes for supposedly superior imports was broken down.

Viewed in this context, Campbell and his staff appear to have been bolstering and maintaining the concept of Empire by building Imperial Baroque government buildings at a time when imperial bonds were becoming less meaningful, though such long term trends were barely perceptible to contemporaries. Most European New Zealanders, including the mainly Scottish staff of the Architectural Branch, genuinely cherished their British heritage, thinking of themselves more as expatriate Britons than as New Zealanders. Under Campbell, the Architectural Branch quite naturally assumed that buildings - from the smallest post office to Parliament Buildings - should be emblematic of New Zealand's political allegiances with the Mother Country, the use of New Zealand building

materials and the increasing monumentality of their works coincidentally marking the nation's rise in status from colony to dominion.

i. The Smaller Works

The smallest, though most numerous, of the Imperial Baroque government buildings erected by the Architectural Branch[10] were provincial and suburban post offices. In the twentieth century a simpler and more monumental approach was adopted than in the 1890s, the Flemish gables and pilaster strips and strings of the Architectural Branch's earlier designs being superseded by the open-bed pediments and Gibbs surrounds of the Imperial Baroque style. Two post offices erected
122. around this date - the Spit Post Office, Port Ahuriri, Napier (1902-3)[11]
123. and the Levin Post Office (1903)[12] - illustrate the point. The Spit Post Office, the earlier of the buildings, recalls the more heavily-ornamented post offices of the 1890s. It nevertheless has an open-bed pediment, Gibbs surrounds and other detailing more typical of the Architectural Branch's later, Imperial Baroque designs. The Levin Post Office is more advanced. The walls are rough cast and some of the

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[10]Though all works were attributed to Campbell (who was ultimately responsible for their design), staff had varying degrees of responsibility for them. Signatures on plans are now the only clues as to who was involved in designing individual works. A departmental circular (W, 4, 2, Circular 27/1909, 5 August 1909) provides a guide to their significance, viz: 'Some time ago instructions were given that all plans and drawings were to be signed, in the left-hand bottom corner for preference, by the officer (if any) who surveyed the work, the officer who drew the plan or drawing, and the officer (if any) who compared it'. Assuming these instructions were being followed, signatures on the bottom left corner (though more often, in practice, the right) indicate who drafted the work. Signatures on the top indicate approval by a superior officer, usually Campbell. Attribution of designs in this chapter is based on interpretation of signatures on plans in accordance with this circular and other evidence.

[11]See Peter Richardson, 'An Architecture of Empire: The Government Buildings of John Campbell in New Zealand', M.A. Thesis (Art History), University of Canterbury, 1988, p. 145 & *Weekly Press*, 24 June 1903, pp. 27-8.

[12]Unnumbered Contract Documents (John Campbell's Papers), Works Series, National Archives, Wellington; *Evening Post*, 18 August 1903, p. 5 & (on additions) *A.J.H.R.*, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 72. See also Richardson, pp. 146-7.

standard detailing is omitted, notably pediments above windows, open-bed pediments and wrought iron cresting on the roof. These changes were made to limit costs but they were also indicative of a growing aesthetic preference for a simpler, more monolithic treatment.[13]

In larger buildings a similar trend emerges. The Napier
124. Departmental Office (1902-4, 1905-7),[14] the first large governmental office block erected by the Architectural Branch in the twentieth century,[15] incorporates many of the elements the Branch was using in the 1890s. The Flemish gables with *oeil-de-boeuf* windows, oversize keystones and spheres were a familiar part of the Branch's architectural vocabulary of that decade. However, the modelling is bolder than in earlier works, the striped banding more vigorous and new Baroque forms are introduced; gables pierced by obelisks (used by Shaw at New Scotland Yard but not by Campbell in the administration block of the Dunedin Gaol) and an aedicule with a semi-circular pediment supported by rusticated half-columns to frame the main entrance. The designs for the building may have been prepared by Lawrence in Campbell's absence[16] but they nevertheless contributed to the evolution of the Architectural Branch's Imperial Baroque style that Campbell endorsed and developed.

In later works of similar size Flemish gables were also superseded by giant aedicules. They first appeared as the principal decorative

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[13]For a fuller discussion of Campbell's small provincial and suburban post offices see Richardson, pp. 140-8.

[14]Half of the building was built between November 1902 and November 1904. Tenders were called for the remaining half in December 1905 and the building completed in March 1907. See W1, 24/162, Part 1.

[15]It was, however, destroyed in the 1931 Napier earthquake.

[16]Designs for the building originated in sketch plans prepared by Lawrence and forwarded by him to the Secretary of Land Transfer Deeds on 24 August 1901 while Campbell was overseas. See W1, 24/162, Part 1, Lawrence to Secretary Land Transfer Deeds, 24 August 1901. The final designs were sent by Campbell to his superiors on his return to New Zealand in March 1902. It is unlikely that he made any major revisions to Lawrence's design.

device on the facades of the Wellington Magistrate's Court (1901-3), a building which established the architectural vocabulary used by the Architectural Branch for most provincial and other works for the next twenty years.[17] Erected on the corner of Lambton Quay and Ballance Street, adjacent to Burrows' Police Station and Supreme Court House, the building was rendered to complement Burrows' buildings. In all other respects, however, the Magistrate's Court read as a separate structure, asserting the Imperial Baroque style as the modern architectural expression of New Zealand government in preference to the Italianate mode Burrows used. The aedicules with open-bed pediments look back to Nicholas Hawksmoor's King William Block, Greenwich, but a more immediate source was John Belcher's Colchester Town Hall (1897-1902),[18] a building which exerted a strong influence on the Architectural Branch.

Following completion of the Wellington Magistrate's Court, giant
125. aedicules, Gibbs surrounds, rusticated columns and half columns, open-bed pediments, oversize keystones, swags, cartouches and striped brickwork became as familiar in the design of larger government buildings as in the smallest post office. Sometimes the Architectural Branch had specific models in mind for individual works. The
126. Greymouth[19] and Masterton[20] court houses (both 1911-12), for example,

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[17]Preliminary designs for the building may also have been prepared while Campbell was overseas, though Campbell approved the designs in April 1902. See W, 15, P.W.D. 19654. A tender for construction of the building was accepted in the following month. See W, 35, 2, f. 332. Construction was completed in 1903. See Richardson, p. 96; *A.J.H.R.*, 1903, D.-1, Appendix E, p. 54 & *ibid.*, 1904, D.-1, Appendix E, p. 57.

[18]On the sources of Belcher's design for the Colchester Town Hall see J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Dilemma of Style: Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern*, London, 1989 ed., p. 214 & Service, p. 145. For a full account of Colchester Town Hall see Alastair Service, 'John Belcher's Town Hall and the Edwardian Grand Manner', *Essex Archaeology and History: The Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, vol. 5, 1973, pp. 225-33.

[19]W33, 1866. Tenders were called in *Greymouth Star*, 17 June 1911, p. 1. The foundation stone was laid on 12 March 1912. See *Grey River Argus*, 13 March 1912, p. 4, *ibid.*, 14 March 1912, p. 5 & *A.J.H.R.*, 1913, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 81.

recall Stewart, Lanchester and Rickards' continental Baroque Cardiff Law Courts (1897, built 1901-4).[21] Mainly, however, the Branch combined its standard range of Baroque architectural elements, and standard floor plans, to varying effect without any particular British models in mind.

127. The Hokitika Departmental Building (1908-9, 1912-3),[22] for example, is built to a similar floor plan as the Napier Departmental Offices but the facades are designed using the more up-to-date architectural vocabulary introduced in the design of the Wellington Magistrate's Court which immediately distinguishes it from its Napier counterpart.

Similarly, in most of the larger provincial towns, post offices of the type first built at Masterton and Ashburton were erected in the early twentieth century with cupola-capped towers and boldly modelled Imperial Baroque facades using the Architectural Branch's standard

128. architectural vocabulary to varying effect - at Greymouth (1905-8),[23]

129. Nelson (1905-6),[24] and Westport (1910-12),[25] for example. As in the smaller post offices, a simpler and more dramatically Baroque treatment

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[20]The tender was accepted in 1911. See *Dominion*, 14, February 1911, p. 4. Work on the contract began in March. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1911, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 86 & *ibid.*, 1913, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 81.

[21]On the Cardiff Law Courts see John Newman, *The Buildings of Wales: Glamorgan*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1995, pp. 105, 222, 225-6.

[22]Sketch plans for the Hokitika Departmental Offices were prepared by May 1907. See W1, 24/170, Part 1, Architect (Campbell) to Blow, 22 May 1907. Tenders were called for construction of one half of the building in February 1908 (See W1, 24/170, Part 1, PW 08/640) and construction of the first half was completed by 8 June 1909 (see, *ibid.*, Thomson [Resident Engineer] to Undersecretary [of Public Works], 1909 & *A.J.H.R.*, 1909, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 77). The remaining half was built in 1912-3. Tenders were called in January 1912 (see *A.J.H.R.*, 1912, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 83) and the building completed by the end of 1913 (see *ibid.*, 1913, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 79; *ibid.*, 1914, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 89 & *Weekly Press*, 22 October 1913, p. 38).

[23]On the Greymouth Post Office see Richardson, pp. 162-4.

[24]See W, 15, P.W.D. 21221 (registered in 1904); *Colonist*, 17 December 1906, p. 4, Halket Millar, *Our Daily Mail* [Auckland, 1980], p. 22 & Richardson, p. 161.

[25]See W, 33, 1634; W35/2, Bruce MacDonald, *Westport - Struggle for Survival: An Illustrated History*, Westport, 1973, p. 45, *Weekly Press*, 22 May 1912, p. 39 & Richardson, pp. 164-5.

130. emerged.[26] While, for example, the Wanganui Post Office (1901-2),[27] has fluted pilasters with Corinthian capitals 'supporting enriched friezes and cornices' and gables 'relieved with handsome tile work and carved
131. Oamaru stone',[28] the facades of its Hastings counterpart (1910)[29] are more simply articulated. Landmarks in the towns in which they were erected, the post offices established Imperial Baroque as the governmental style of architecture in the provinces more emphatically than any other government building-type.

Despite this trend towards less ornamentation, under Campbell's leadership the Architectural Branch never abandoned the use of an Imperial Baroque architectural vocabulary in either provincial towns or city centres. Even the plastered facades of the Wellesley Street
132. Telephone Exchange, Auckland, built as late as 1918-20,[30] are enlivened by the cartouches, oversize and attenuated key stones and segmental pediments the Architectural Branch established as the preferred architectural vocabulary for provincial and suburban government buildings some fifteen years earlier.

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[26] The interiors were generally utilitarian - corrugated iron sometimes being used for ceilings, as at Wanganui, for example.

[27] See *Evening Post*, 26 January 1901, p. 3, *New Zealand Times*, 5 August 1902, p. 7; W, 35, 2, f. 331, entry no. 498, *A.J.H.R.*, 1902, D.-1, Appendix E, p. 60; *ibid.*, 1903, D.-1, Appendix E, p. 53 & Richardson, pp. 158-60.

[28] *Yeoman*, 18 October 1902, p. 16.

[29] See W, 32, 23754, *Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail*, 2 February 1910, p. 30, *A.J.H.R.*, 1910, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 72 & Richardson, p. 161.

[30] A contract was let in February 1918 and completed in March 1920. See *A.J.H.R.*, 1920, D.-1, Appendix C, p. 44; *ibid.*, 1918, D.-1, Appendix C, p. 42; *ibid.*, 1919, D.-1, Appendix C, p. 39; *New Zealand Herald*, 2 March 1920, p. 4 & *ibid.*, 26 April 1920, p. 6. Additions were made by Campbell's successor, J. T. Mair, in 1927-8.

ii. The Major Office Buildings: The Public Trust Office, Wellington (1905-9), and Auckland and Wellington General Post Offices (1908-12)

The focus of Campbell's attention and that of his senior staff - Lawrence, Richards, Nicoll and McCosker - was always, however, the large metropolitan government offices which both set the standard for the buildings in the provinces and were important works of architecture in their own right. The largest and most important were the Public Trust Office, Wellington (1905-9), and the Auckland and Wellington General Post Offices (both 1909-12).

Designs for the Public Trust Office were created by Richards under Campbell's general direction.[31] Richards' work is usually indistinguishable from that of his colleagues'; his Onehunga Post Office (1901),[32] for example, is very similar to Lawrence's Temuka Post Office (1901-2).[33] By contrast the Public Trust Office has a Baroque exuberance which distinguishes it from both Richards' other governmental works and those of his colleagues in the Architectural Branch.

Its design presented the Branch with new challenges. The narrow site on which the building was erected, on the corner of Lambton Quay and Stout Street,[34] precluded use of Campbell and Lawrence's standard

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[31]Campbell identifies the work as one of Richards' when supporting Richards' 1911 application to become a licentiate of the R.I.B.A. with the somewhat ambiguous comment 'I am also acquainted with some of the works executed under the Candidate's [Richards'] superintendence viz - the Public Trust Office building, Wellington, Drill Hall Wellington, & many post office and judicial buildings the preparation of the plans for which were under his control under my direction'. Richards retained copies of the plans of the Public Trust Office, further confirming his close involvement with preparation of the designs. The drawings (W, 15, P.W.D. 21596) are signed by Richards in the bottom right hand corner.

[32]See W, 15, P.W.D. 19206; Richards' 1911 application for admission as a Licentiate of the R.I.B.A. & Richardson, pp. 144-5.

[33]The drawings for Temuka Post Office (P.W.D. 19358, an amended design which superseded P.W.D. 19270) were registered in W, 16, in April 1901.

[34]Proposals to construct an office for the Public Trust in Wellington date back to 1894 when Campbell was instructed to prepare designs for a building to be erected in the grounds surrounding Clayton's General Government Offices. The building was never erected there, however. The proposal to use this site was abandoned after it was criticised by the local press which argued that the

plan for departmental offices - a long range with protruding centre and end bays. It also revived concerns about the ability of multi-storey masonry structures to withstand earthquakes, prompting the Government to propose the use of an American-designed steel frame for the building. The response of the Architectural Branch to this proposal reveals a structural conservatism as British in origin as the facades of the buildings they were erecting.[35]

Campbell had some personal experience of American architecture but its influence on his own work was limited. He had visited the United States of America in 1901 when he had leave to 'inspect the latest Asylums' there and in England.[36] No account of his travels survives but he surely returned to Glasgow and during the course of his travels visited San Francisco; a design for the Public Trust Office by the San Francisco firm, Reid Brothers, was registered by New Zealand's Public Works Department shortly after Campbell's return to the colony. Commissioned at Premier Seddon's suggestion,[37] Reid Brothers' design had a steel frame which it was believed would be 'sufficient to carry the

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gardens around the General Government Buildings should be preserved. See G. Anderson, 'The Architects' in *Public Trust Office, Wellington: Wellington Regional Committee, New Zealand Historic Places Trust Newsletter*, vol. 1, no. 3, October 1976, p. 13 & Richardson, p. 101.

[35]On the relative conservatism of the British architectural profession in the use of steel frame construction for multi-storey commercial buildings see Fellows, pp. 62-8.

[36]See W, 14, 2, f. 133. Campbell applied for six months' leave of absence in March 1901. He was granted three months on full pay and three on half pay. The exact date of his departure is uncertain but he must have left New Zealand by June of that year. Lawrence, who filled in for Campbell while he was overseas, forwarded plans for the Temuka Post Office (W, 15, P.W.D. 19358) to the Engineer in chief of the Public Works Department for his approval that month. In normal circumstances, Campbell would have forwarded the plans himself.

[37]The *Wanganui Chronicle* alleged that Reid Brothers were commissioned 'not because of the lack of experience of local architects but because the Premier had 'a particular friend' in the United States'. See Chris Cochran, 'Capital City Buildings', *Historic Buildings of New Zealand, North Island* (Frances Porter, ed.), Auckland, 1983 ed., p. 242. Campbell's visit to the United States and the fact that the New Zealand-based architect, Thomas Turnbull, had previously practised in San Francisco (1861-71) are other American connections which may have had a bearing on the decision to commission Reid Brothers.

gravity loads on the building'.[38] Seddon described it as an improvement on anything 'in the colony in the direction of being more earth-quake proof'.[39]

Campbell's response to Reid Brothers' project was foreshadowed by
133. his work on the Wellington Customs House (1902-5),[40] designed immediately after his return to the New Zealand. The wide entrance arch of the Customs House, and the arches which subsume two and three storeys, reveal a familiarity with the architectural language of the Chicago School not previously evident in Campbell's work and only beginning to emerge in New Zealand architecture.[41] According to the Minister of Customs, Joseph Ward, 'If by any mischance there was an earthquake, the architectural work of the [Customs House] edifice would show that it was able to resist it'.[42] Despite Ward's assertion, however, the engineering solution to withstanding earthquakes did not involve the use of an American-inspired steel frame but rather the construction of a massive load-bearing structure. Standing on '230 huge jarrah piles', the Wellington Customs House had some '2,700 feet [approx. 923 m.] of Port Chalmers bluestone in the base', and the 'interstices of the [floor] joists' were 'all filled with breeze concrete'.[43] It is therefore scarcely surprising that Campbell,

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[38]Cochran, 'Capital City Buildings', p. 242.

[39]*N.Z.P.D.*, vol. 130, 1904, p. 743, also quoted in Richardson, p. 105.

[40]The block plans for the building (W, 15, P.W.D. 19848) are signed June 1902. It was originally intended that the building would be completed by 12 April 1904 (see 'Custom House, Wellington', John Campbell's Papers, National Archives, Wellington) but construction was not completed until 1905 (see *Evening Post*, 9 June 1905, p. 2).

[41]Ann McEwan observes that in the Lyttelton Times Company Building, Cathedral Square, Christchurch (1902), Alfred Luttrell 'introduced in embryo the Chicago high-rise style to New Zealand'. See Ann McEwan, 'Alfred and Sidney Luttrell: Early Commercial Architecture in Canterbury', *Art New Zealand 51*, Winter 1989, p. 94.

[42]*Evening Post*, 9 June 1905, p. 2.

[43]*Ibid.*, 24 May 1905, p. 2.

although attracted by the visual forms of American architecture, favoured the erection of a similarly monumental building for the Public Trust Office with load-bearing masonry facades.

Accordingly, the Reid Brothers' design was rejected by the Architectural Branch. An estimate for its erection (£60,000) was considered excessive, though the fact that it was calculated by staff unfamiliar with the proposed method of construction needs to be taken into consideration. In an attempt to reduce the projected costs of the building, Richards created a fresh design for a Public Trust Office with load-bearing facades of a kind with which the Public Works Department was already familiar. Shortly before the designs were prepared, the Public Works Department received a timely reminder of the need to take seriously the threat of earthquakes when, on 9 August 1904, Wellington was subjected to 'the heaviest shock felt in the capital since 1855',[44] causing some damage to the building in which the Public Trust was then housed, the Government Life Insurance Building. The earthquake did not, however, prompt the Architectural Branch to reassess its approach towards structural engineering.

It was rather the Premier, Richard Seddon, who forced a reassessment. Following the April 1906 San Francisco earthquake which, with the ensuing fires, destroyed much of that city, Seddon instructed that the plans for the Public Trust Office be revised on the 'steel-frame principle'. Complying with Seddon's instruction, Public Works Department staff designed 'a skeleton riveted steel frame' for Richards' building[45] which distributed floor loads and acted as reinforcing for

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[44] C. W. Vennell, *A Century of Trust: A History of the N.Z. Public Trust Office, 1873-1973*, Auckland, 1973, pp. 70-1 & C. W. Vennell, *Tower of Strength: A Centennial History of the New Zealand Government Life Insurance Office 1869-1969*, Auckland, 1969, p. 137.

[45] *Progress*, 1 August 1908, p. 339 reported that it was built with 'a rivetted steel-frame, the members of which - apart from the floor girders - have only

the load-bearing facades. In keeping with contemporary British architectural practice, its insertion did not alter their external appearance. The original plans for the building were first registered by departmental clerks on 8 September 1905 and again received 'for record after alteration [on] 22.9.06' without any substantial changes being made to the original drawings. Rather five additional sheets of drawings of the steel framing were registered, as well as one additional sheet showing a revised layout of the second floor.[46]

Costs, not structural considerations, finally determined the approach towards construction. Tenders were called for plans marked 'A' and 'B'[47] for the Public Trust Office in October 1906, presumably Reid Brothers' project and Richards' revised one. A tender for Richards' project was accepted later that year, confirming that its erection was
134. the cheaper alternative. Construction was largely completed in 1908
135. when the building was partially occupied, though it was not officially opened until June 1909.

Professional reaction to the completed building was enthusiastic. The President of the New Zealand Institute of Architects,[48] Alfred Atkins, thought the building 'distinctly in advance of other public

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one function, namely, that of giving tensional strength to walls of brick or stone, and binding or tying the walls together'. See also on the method of construction *Weekly Press*, 17 February 1909, p. 41; Richard Daniels, 'The Old Public Trust Building: A Renovation Case Study', B. Arch. Research Report, Victoria University of Wellington, 1986, p. 6 & Cochran, 'Capital City Buildings', *Historic Buildings of New Zealand: North Island*, p. 242.

[46]Drawings, no. 6-10 for the Public Trust Office, are registered in the Public Works Department Plan register in handwriting of reduced size, cramped into the few available lines between register entries, suggesting that they comprise altered designs added after the 1905 plans were first registered. The plan '1A 2nd Floor Plan' is also a later addition in the register. The assertion in Cochran, 'Capital City Buildings', p. 242, that the plans were 'unaltered despite Seddon's ultimatum' is thus incorrect.

[47]See *Press*, 3 October 1906, p. 10.

[48]The New Zealand Institute of Architects was formed in 1905 when various local associations of architects amalgamated 'for the common protection and future welfare' of the architectural profession in New Zealand. See *New Zealand Institute of Architects, Journal of Proceedings*, April 1912, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 15.

offices in design, materials, and construction'.[49] After the comparative austerity of much modern architecture, it appears heavily ornamented, but for Atkins, steeped in the aesthetics of the Edwardian era, the design was 'worked out with a refreshing freedom from over-ornamentation which enhanced the granite'.[50] His contemporaries, too, so fully accepted the ebullience of the Imperial Baroque style that Richards' boldly modelled facades were considered relatively restrained and appropriately governmental. According to the *Evening Post*, the 'brick appears, to the outward eye, only sufficiently to set off the Tonga [Bay] granite'[51] but 'dignity and ornament' was 'intelligently blended by the Government Architect'.[52]

The Wellington Magistrate's Court is the immediate antecedent for the design, though the ultimate British model is again Colchester Town Hall. Mindful of the potential effects of earthquakes, however, the focal point is a corner drum and cupola instead of a tower as at Colchester. This corner treatment of the Public Trust Office looks back to Campbell's Palmerston Post Office (1886) but the Architectural Branch arrived at a similar solution without direct reference to that modest timber building. By combining the standard Baroque elements already used by the Branch (notably, giant Hawksmoor-inspired aedicules) Richards capitalised on the narrow site to create a distinctive design of his own which has a Baroque exuberance unparalleled in New Zealand architecture.

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[49]*Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail*, 16 June 1909, p. 16.

[50]*Ibid.*

[51]*Evening Post*, 8 June 1909, p. 8.

[52]*Ibid.*

Within Lambton Quay, Wellington's principal commercial thoroughfare, the Public Trust Office is thus a landmark, asserting more emphatically than ever before the importance of government and the British allegiances of the nation. As the first major government building completed following proclamation of New Zealand as a Dominion, it marked New Zealand's rise in status as surely as any government office building could. It was, moreover, a source of some pride to staff of the Architectural Branch that the rich contrast of materials which contributes to the exuberant effect was achieved using New Zealand building fabric, mainly prison-made brick (which reduced costs) and Tonga Bay Granite.

Even while the Public Trust Office was being erected the Architectural Branch was designing its other major office buildings, the Auckland and Wellington General Post Offices, in a more restrained, though equally monumental, Wrenaissance style. Detailed by Paton, fresh from Britain, this change in approach reflects recent trends in British architecture with which he would have been familiar at first hand. Although Paton was only one of the many staff of the Architectural Branch who worked on the post offices,[53] his involvement was decisive in establishing the more restrained approach the buildings represented as an accepted variant of the office style at a time when buildings of the exuberance of the Public Trust Office were under construction.

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[53]The Auckland Post Office has been attributed to Paton. See John Stacpoole and Peter Beaven, *New Zealand Art: Architecture 1820-1970*, Wellington, 1972, p. 68. However, Campbell was working on preliminary designs for the building from 1907 and, although Paton played an important role in preparing the final designs, Campbell had already decided on the general form of the building when Paton became involved. The building was nevertheless regarded by Architectural Branch staff as Paton's. An Auckland-based draftsman sent Paton an undated postcard of the Auckland Chief Post Office and adjacent Endeans Building, asking Paton 'What do you think of this job [Endeans Building] alongside your masterpiece', while reassuring him that it 'looks better than in the photo' (post card, formerly held by Mrs Mouat, Wellington, now in author's collection).

Erection of the post office buildings was virtually contemporaneous. Tenders for their construction were called in 1908[54] but all proved higher than anticipated. As a result attic floors were omitted from the designs for both buildings, as well as some sculptural decoration from the Auckland post office.[55] Construction of the buildings to reduced designs began in 1909;[56] both were completed by November 1912.[57]

This simultaneous process of design and construction is evident in
136. the buildings themselves. The Auckland Post Office was erected as a free-standing structure, with a frontage to Queen Street, on a site
137. previously intended for a railway station. In contrast, the Wellington General Post Office adjoined an extant post office building (1882-3),[58] more than doubling its floor area. Nevertheless, in both, large, top-
138. lit, one-storey public offices were surrounded by multi-storey wings containing workrooms and private offices. The methods of construction also invite comparison. Both post offices were erected with load-bearing brick perimeter walls and an internal steel frame which distributed floor loads.[59] The principal facades were faced with stone in preference to the striped brick of earlier works. Although sourced

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[54]List of tender notices in *Evening Post*, Terence Hodgson, Wellington.

[55]For a perspective of the Auckland building with the additional storey and four sculptures at the entrance see *Auckland Weekly News*, 27 June 1908, p. 15.

[56]See *A.J.H.R.*, 1912, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 84 & list of tender notices in *Evening Post*, Terence Hodgson, Wellington.

[57]On the completion of the Auckland building see *Auckland Star*, 20 November 1912, p. 7 & the Wellington building see *Evening Post*, 26 November 1912, p. 8 & *ibid.*, 27 November 1912, p. 4.

[58]On this building see Terence Hodgson, *Colonial Capital: Wellington 1865-1910*, Wellington, 1990, pp. 98-9.

[59]See *Dominion*, 4 August 1911, p. 4, commenting on the Wellington Post Office. The comments apply equally to its Auckland counterpart. In both buildings, too, the stanchions were 'encased in brickwork or concrete'. Nicoll was the structural engineer for both buildings.

from New Zealand quarries,[60] the stone cladding evokes the Portland stone facades of many of the larger London government buildings which Campbell and Paton had in mind.

The detailing of the facades is even more overtly British than the choice of materials. William Young's Wrenaissance War Office, Whitehall, Westminster (1898-1906),[61] with its corner towers capped with cupolas, was an important source for both buildings. Campbell nevertheless had a specific, near contemporaneous, model in mind for the Auckland building; Henry Tanner's King Edward VII building of the General Post Office, King Edward Street, London (1907-10). Robert Heaton Rhodes, New Zealand's Postmaster-General, even acknowledged the similarities when opening the Auckland building.[62] According to Rhodes

> By a coincidence the London offices has flanking arches similar to ours and the whole appearance of the front will recall to Auckland people who may visit London the general appearance of their own post office.[63]

The facades of the Auckland (and Wellington) Post Office differ in kind from Tanner's 'rather dull, classical essay'[64] but, as Rhodes pointed out, the composition of the Auckland and London buildings invite

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[60]Coromandel granite and Oamaru stone was used for the Queen Street facade of the Auckland Post Office; Tonga Bay Granite and Dobson stone for the facades of its Wellington counterpart.

[61]On the sources of Young's design see Mordaunt Crook, pp. 212-3.

[62]*Auckland Star*, 21 November 1912.

[63]['Robert Heaton Rhodes'] speech notes, p. 7, copy on New Zealand Historic Places Trust Auckland Post Office Research File (source not noted), New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington.

[64]Fellows, p. 59. The method of construction also differs. Tanner's building was erected on 'the Hennebique System of reinforced concrete to the design of L. G. Mouchel and Partners'. See A. Stuart Gray, *Edwardian Architecture: A Biographical Dictionary*, London, 1985, p. 344. Fellows observes (p. 57) that 'Essentially, the structure comprised a framework of reinforced concrete columns and beams with monolithic joints and a thin floor slab running over, forming a 'continuous' system which provided an economical yet strong structure'.

comparison; both consist of large monumental office blocks flanked by arches.

The construction of a building to this composition in Auckland represented a victory for the Architectural Branch over the more pragmatic concerns of the Railways Department, revealing the strength of Campbell's commitment to the integrity of his original design and the erection of a post office referenced to Tanner's. According to the Railways Department, the arches would restrict the flow of traffic to the Railway Station situated behind the Post Office. Opposing this view, the Branch argued that the arches were necessary to frame the lanes on either side of the post office and screen 'the severely practical buildings' behind the post office.[65] When the general public also objected to the omission of the arches, the Railways Department reluctantly withdrew its objections to their construction.[66] Twenty-one years later, in 1932, it nevertheless secured approval for their demolition, again on the grounds that they restricted the flow of traffic.[67]

Inclusion of sculptural decoration as an integral part of the post office designs provided further, and somewhat more enduring, evidence of the Architectural Branch's commitment to construction of buildings comparable with those in Britain. Wrought iron lamp standards were erected on the plinths intended for sculpture at the entrance to the Auckland Post Office but its Wellington counterpart was adorned by an allegorical, Michelangelesque sculpture by English sculptor Alfred Drury

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[65] *Dominion*, 1 August 1911, p. 4.

[66] On the Railways Department's withdrawal of objections to the construction of the arches see *ibid*.

[67] See Salmond Architects, 'Auckland Post Office, Conservation Plan', Auckland, 1990, pp. 25-6.

representing 'the transport of mails over the world by land and sea'.[68] Drury's sculpture was flanked by two works commissioned from Messrs. W. Parkinson and Co. of Auckland, one representing telegraphy, the other postal delivery.[69] Use of English fittings for both buildings provided yet further evidence of New Zealand's reliance on the Mother Country. Among other English fittings, pavement glazing and lead-light domes over the public offices were supplied by the Luxfer Prism Company Ltd., London, and lamp fittings by the Birmingham Guild Ltd.

Thus, in design, use of materials and quality of finish,[70] the Post Offices, no less than the Public Trust Office, represented a high-point in the Architectural Branch's work. Better reflecting recent trends in British architecture than the earlier striped brick government buildings, they also set the standard for the larger works erected in
139. the final decade of Campbell's career (1912-22). The Wellington Police Station (1914-7),[71] in particular, owes a debt to the post offices. Like those buildings, the principal facades of the Police Station (on Waring Taylor and Johnston Streets) are distinguished by colonnades of half-columns.[72] As important as the post office designs were in

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[68]*Dominion*, 8 February 1912, p. 4. The sculpture 'represents two female figures sitting with their backs to a pillar supporting a globe. One figure holds aloft a bronze model of a locomotive, and the other a model of a sailing ship'. The sculpture was removed from the building in 1945 (following an earthquake in 1942) and dumped in the 1960s. Post Office memo re. General Post Office Buildings: Statuary', 9.8.68, copy held by Walter Cook, Wellington. A photograph of the sculpture is reproduced in *Dominion*, 20 January 1912, p. 6.

[69]*Dominion*, 8 February 1912, p. 4.

[70]As in the provinces, however, it was the facades which were the focus of architectural attention. With the notable exception of the entrance foyers and public spaces, most rooms were utilitarian in character.

[71]*Dominion*, 8 November 1917, p. 7 & *Progress*, January 1918, pp. 107 & 109.

[72]Admittedly, however, the detailing of the police station has a more geometric quality than that of the post offices. Patera, a union jack motif (between the hoods over the second storey windows) and fasces are used in preference to the more organic 'ribbon enriched swags' and cartouche of the post offices. The Architectural Branch may have been influenced by the work of John Butler (1861-1920), Architect and Surveyor to the department of Metropolitan Police in London (1895-1920), whose police stations were erected

generating other designs such as the Wellington Police Station, however, they merely foreshadowed the Architectural Branch's largest and most important work; new Parliament Buildings in Wellington.

iii. Towards new Parliament Buildings

The events which precipitated the construction of new Parliament Buildings were entirely unexpected. In December 1907, less than three months after New Zealand was designated a Dominion, the timber wing of the Parliamentary Buildings was destroyed by fire. The only portion of the complex left standing was the West Wing (1883) and General Assembly Library (1898-1901), both designed by Thomas Turnbull and built in brick with a view towards replacing all the timber portions of the Parliamentary Buildings in permanent materials.[73] The accommodation available in these structures was inadequate for the whole of Parliament. As a result, Parliament appropriated Clayton's Government House for temporary use as chambers and offices while arrangements were made for construction of new Parliament Buildings. The parallels with Britain, which had suffered the loss of its Houses of Parliament seventy-three years earlier, were unmistakable. Like Britain, New Zealand was presented with the opportunity to construct entirely new Parliament Buildings which would better suit the needs of its politicians and reflect, in their architecture, the character and aspirations of the nation. While Britain had the opportunity to construct a new Houses of Parliament in a Gothic style, promoted as the

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in 'a crisp, austere version of the prevalent Free Classic or Anglo-Classic - the civic style doffing its regalia and donning a uniform'. On Butler's work see Gray, *Edwardian Architecture: A Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 132-3.

[73]In March and April 1907 Campbell called tenders for a new brick block on Sydney Street to serve, in the first instance, as additional accommodation while further portions of the timber buildings were replaced. Construction had not progressed beyond the foundations when the fire occurred. See W, 1, 24/26 Part O; W, 15, P.W.D. 22537 (C. E. Paton & A. Stevenson delt.) & Richardson, pp. 230-2.

national style of Britain, New Zealand could now erect a monumental Imperial Baroque building which would assert both the country's status as a Dominion and its loyalty to the Crown.

Immediately following the fire Campbell worked on two schemes for
140. accommodating Parliament. One was for reconstruction of Parliament
141. Buildings in a Gothic style on the original site; the other for a new classical building to be erected on the site of Clayton's Government House. Sketches for both schemes were presented to the House of Representatives but neither accurately portrayed Campbell's intentions. Both, he was forced to admit, were mistakenly sent to the government printers before his staff had time to work on them, an admission which both confirms his practice of preparing preliminary sketches later worked into finished designs by his staff and explains the crudity of the designs themselves.

Whatever the shortcomings of the sketches, Campbell's preference was for the construction of an entirely new Parliament Building.[74] By Campbell's calculations, the cost of building on the site of the former Parliamentary Buildings would be almost equal to that of erecting entirely new buildings on the Government House site. Extensive and costly foundations would be required which in Campbell's view made the site uneconomic.[75] Moreover, in his view, if it was decided to build on the Government House site, only half of the new Parliament Buildings need be erected immediately, the second half being finished six to eight years after the first.[76] Underlying his arguments was an aesthetic

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[74]Richardson, pp. 111-2.

[75]Also, according to Campbell, the site of the former Parliamentary Buildings was so narrow that it would be impossible to design a convenient building with good lighting and ventilation. See *ibid.*, p. 112

[76]A similar two-stage approach towards construction had, of course, already been adopted for the Napier and Hokitika Departmental Offices.

preference for the erection of a classical building, rather than reconstruction of a Gothic one, but the economic arguments he presented were nevertheless compelling in their own right.

The construction of an entirely new building also captured Parliament's imagination. A parliamentary committee established to investigate the options for accommodation endorsed Campbell's recommendations while also proposing the construction of additional buildings.[77] In the committee's view, the section of Sydney Street in the gully between Government House and the site of the former Parliamentary Buildings should be closed and filled in to create a single hill. This recontoured site could then accommodate a new National Museum (on tennis courts behind the site of the former Parliamentary Buildings) and new government offices to replace Clayton's timber building. In October 1908 the full House of Representatives endorsed the committee's report. Campbell even prepared preliminary sketch plans for a replacement of Clayton's timber General Government offices with a new shopping centre.[78] No further work on this project was undertaken, however. The more immediate need was for a new Government House to provide accommodation for the displaced Governor. Its design and construction occupied the Architectural Branch's attention immediately before arrangements were finalised for accommodating Parliament and shaped the Government's response towards provision of new Parliament Buildings.

Sketch plans for the Government House, to be built on Mt View,
142. about 3 kilometres south-east of the Parliament Buildings site, were

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[77] *N.Z.P.D.*, vol. 145, 1908, pp. 867-8.

[78] See W, 15, P.W.D. 23980.

created by Campbell[79] and final contract drawings for the building prepared by Paton.[80] Construction of the house was under way by June 1909[81] and 'practically completed' by September 1910.[82] Essentially a long, near-symmetrical, two storey range with a half-timbered first floor, Government House represents the culmination of the ideas Campbell was developing for provincial timber government buildings with vertical and horizontal battens applied over the wall cladding.[83]

Progress, a newly-established journal on New Zealand architecture and building, published a positive account of this 'modern Elizabethan' building, commenting that 'For the sum paid for the new building (some £25,000) more was expected. But the building is undeniably an excellent one'.[84] Few commentators agreed. The house was elsewhere described as 'probably the worst of its kind to be found in the Australasian colonies'.[85] When the designs were first released they were said to show a 'sort of £1-a-week boardinghouse' with a tower with an 'objectional [sic] terminal', which was evidently the result of 'some Jewish feast or circumcision'.[86] In somewhat less colourful language, the *Grey River Argus and Blackball News* reported that the house 'is

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[79]Registered as P.W.D. 23981 in W, 16. The final elevations, plans, sections and details were later registered as P.W.D. 24752.

[80]Note, however, that the drawings for the foundations were prepared by Nicoll. See drawing no. 1 of W, 15, P.W.D. 24752.

[81]See *Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail*, 2 June 1909, p. 16 & *A.J.H.R.*, 1909, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 77.

[82]*A.J.H.R.*, 1911, D.-1, Appendix F, p. 67.

[83]It was first intended that the house would have concrete foundations, a brick base 'rising to the height of the verandah' and above this 'rough cast plaster with the main beams showing through'. See *ibid*. As constructed, other materials were used. The first floor was weatherboarded and the upper floor roughcast, the surfaces being subdivided by vertical and horizontal battens.

[84]*Progress*, 1 May 1911, p. 659.

[85]*Weekly Press*, 5 June 1912, p. 43.

[86]*N.Z.P.D.*, vol. 145, 1908, p. 907.

variously described by contemptuous appellations from "a packing case" to a "post office" and is compared most unfavourably with the old building',[87] while the *Press* concluded, on completion of the building, that 'a great mistake was made in entrusting the Government House to the Government Architect'.[88] In its view, despite expenditure sufficient 'to have provided a residence for the Governor which would have done credit to the Dominion', the King's representative was 'housed in a large wooden bungalow, inartistic in design, and planted in one of the worst parts of Wellington'.[89]

Defending the house, Campbell argued that 'being restricted to timber instead of brick, imposes limitations in the way of securing impressiveness or dignity',[90] a view which few architects could have accepted. Comparison of Government House with the contemporaneous, Woburn, Lower Hutt (1909),[91] designed by Charles Natusch (an architect who established his reputation constructing large and impressive timber houses),[92] confirms that the Architectural Branch missed the opportunity to exploit fully the potential of timber to secure 'impressiveness' and 'dignity'. The specialised character of Campbell's office itself, rather than the use of timber, explains the shortcomings of the building; the Architectural Branch had proven expertise in the design of government office buildings but less experience and expertise in the

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[87] *Grey River Argus and Blackball News*, 29 May 1908, p. 3.

[88] *Press*, 13 January 1911, p. 6.

[89] *Ibid.*

[90] *Grey River Argus and Blackball News*, 29 May 1908, p. 3.

[91] Illustrated in Terence Hodgson, *The Big House: Grand & Opulent Houses in Colonial New Zealand*, Auckland, 1991, p. 123. See also Natusch's 1908 extensions to 'Highden', illustrated in *ibid.*, p. 77.

[92] On Charles Tilleard Natusch (1859-1951) see Guy K. Natusch, 'Natusch, Charles Tilleard 1859-1951', *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume Three: 1901-1920* (Claudia Orange, gen. ed.), Wellington, 1996, pp. 356-7.

design and construction of domestic work generally and none at all of grand residences.[93] The Architectural Branch must, as a result, have felt somewhat uncomfortable with the Government House commission.

Criticism of the building set the scene for an even more bitter controversy over the design of Parliament Buildings. In October 1908, while defending Campbell's cursory sketch plans for new parliamentary buildings, Premier Ward announced that a competition for the design of a new building should be held and that Campbell should be eligible to compete.[94] A competition was not held until 1911 when the Government House was completed, providing Campbell with an opportunity to pit his architectural skills against those of his critics.

There was more at stake than Campbell's reputation, however. Underlying criticism of the Government House design, and the decision to organise a competition for the design of Parliament Buildings, was a tension between the private and public architectural sectors which had been growing for some time. As early as 1876, when Clayton had colony-wide responsibility for design of government buildings, architects and engineers in Otago had formed the Dunedin Institute of Civil Engineers and Architects in an attempt, it was later reported, to counter the encroachment of Government employees on private practice.[95] The opening up of some governmental commissions to architects in the private sector following Clayton's death in 1877 temporarily solved the problem.

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[93]Note, however, that the Architectural Branch did design large domestic buildings for the Tourist Department, notably the Hermitage, Mt Cook (1911-14) designs for which had been prepared by 1908. On the Hermitage see *Press*, 27 April 1908, p. 8, *ibid.*, 7 November 1908, p.8 & *The Hermitage Mount Cook Centennial 1884-1984: A Brief Look at the past 100 Years 1884-1984*, Timaru, 1984. Campbell's Hermitage was gutted by fire in 1957 and replaced by the present building of the same name.

[94]*N.Z.P.D.*, vol. 145, 1908, p. 869.

[95]See *N.Z.I.A. Journal*, vol. 1, no. 1, April 1912, p. 48. According to the *N.Z.I.A. Journal*, the Institute 'died a natural death early in 1880'.

However, from 1890 architects in private practice watched with increasing concern as state employees built large, brick government offices throughout New Zealand which seemed to symbolise not only the British origins and allegiances of the country but also the increasing assuredness and confidence of the Architectural Branch itself. They therefore welcomed the Parliament Buildings competition as an opportunity to reclaim a role in the design of government buildings and to design one of the most prestigious public buildings in the country.

However, enthusiasm for the competition soured when the competition conditions were announced in 1911. Among the alleged problems was that the name of the assessor (Col. Walter Vernon)[96] was not to be revealed before the competition was judged and the required layout of rooms was imprecisely detailed. According to one anonymous critic, this would only increase Campbell's chances since he was in a better position than others to know the Government's requirements. Campbell would have access, it was alleged, to information from officials whom he would know as '"Jones", "Brown," or "Smith"' but who would be 'inaccessible behind barriers of official reserve' to other competitors.[97]

Accordingly, the New Zealand Institute of Architects (N.Z.I.A) mounted a concerted campaign to have the conditions changed. It argued that Campbell and his staff should not be allowed to enter the competition and it viewed with concern reports that he had written the

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[96]For an account of Vernon's work as Government Architect of New South Wales see Peter Leggett Reynolds, 'The Evolution of the Architect's Branch of the New South Wales Department of Public Works 1788-1911', Ph.D. Thesis (Architecture), University of New South Wales, 1972, chapter XIV, pp. 309-78 & Peter Moroney, 'Walter Vernon: A Change in the Style of Government Architecture', *Australian Art and Architecture: Essays Presented to Bernard Smith* (Anthony Bradley and Terry Smith, eds.), Melbourne, 1980, pp. 45-53.

[97]*Dominion*, 7 April 1911, p. 2 & Richardson, p. 245.

conditions of entry.[98] In April 1911 Christchurch representatives of the N.Z.I.A., led by Samuel Hurst Seager,[99] met with the Minister of Public Works, Roderick McKenzie, to put their case. Raising a wide range of concerns, they argued that the competition conditions should be completely revised to conform with those promoted by the Royal Institute of British Architects (R.I.B.A.)[100] but McKenzie's response was uncompromising. According to the Minister, the Government 'was not concerned about the R.I.B.A. in the slightest degree'.[101] Misinterpreting the N.Z.I.A.'s promotion of the R.I.B.A.'s competition conditions as an attempt to open up the competition to British architects, he argued that if the Government had intended that British architects should compete 'they would have advertised in Great Britain and Australia, but they had reserved the competition entirely for New Zealand'.[102] In reality, the decision to restrict the competition to local architects was a thinly disguised attempt to limit the expense and administrative work involved in organising the competition, but McKenzie and some of his colleagues genuinely believed that the competition should be an occasion for indigenous architectural expression. Like McKenzie, Walter Buchanan, Member of the House of Representatives for Wairarapa, supported the decision to limit eligibility to New Zealand architects on the basis that the competition should be a distinctly New

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[98]See *Press*, 12 January 1911, p. 9. For a detailed account of the Institute's objections see *New Zealand Institute of Architects, Journal of Proceedings*, April 1912, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 33 ff.

[99]On Seager see Ian J. Lochhead, 'Seager, Samuel Hurst (1855-1933)', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume Three: 1901-1920* (Claudia Orange, gen. ed.), Wellington, 1996, pp. 463-4.

[100]The Institute had its own 'Regulations for Architectural Competitions 'in harmony' with those issued by the R.I.B.A. See *New Zealand Institute of Architects, Journal of Proceedings*, April 1912, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 33-4.

[101]*Dominion*, 3 April 1911, p. 6. Also quoted in Richardson, p. 242.

[102]*Ibid.*

Zealand one. Asserting that the country possessed all the skills necessary to construct an impressive building,[103] he asked his colleagues in the House of Representatives to consider why it is 'that some men always want to make out that there is no genius in New Zealand - that if you want something good for your money you must go outside New Zealand'.[104]

For the N.Z.I.A. the issue of whether or not the competition should be limited to local architects was immaterial; it was not prepared to accept that the competition conditions should be in any way inferior to those of the R.I.B.A. The issue was one of professionalism, not nationalism. The N.Z.I.A.'s efforts to persuade the Government were largely unsuccessful, however. McKenzie conceded on only minor points.[105] The competition conditions were amended so that only one prize could be claimed by an individual competitor and, although staff of the Architectural Branch were advised that they were not to prepare competition designs in working hours, or in government offices, they were not prevented from entering.[106]

Frustrated by its inability to persuade the Government to change the conditions, the Council of the New Zealand Institute of Architects voted to boycott the competition. This initiative, agreed to by a margin of only one vote, was of only limited success.[107] Thirty-three

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[103]See *N.Z.P.D.*, vol. 145, 1908, p. 869.

[104]*Ibid.*, p. 875. By contrast, the British journal the *Builder* criticised the decision to limit the competition to New Zealand architects, stating that the Government had hardly gone 'the best way' to obtain 'the highest skill available'. *Builder*, 26 January 1912, p. 86. The *Builder*'s comments are made in a review of an issue of *Progress* which criticised the organisation of the competition.

[105]For an account of other minor changes see *Dominion*, 15 April 1911, p. 6.

[106]*New Zealand Journal of Architects, Journal of Proceedings*, April 1912, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 38-9.

[107]The vote was 7-6 for the boycott. See 'Minutes of an Adjourned Meeting of the Council of the New Zealand Institute of Architects held at the Institutes' Rooms, Wellington, on Wednesday May 3rd, 1911 at 10.30 a.m.', N.Z.I.A. Minute

competition entries were received, including 18 from N.Z.I.A. members.[108] Of these, one entry was submitted by Campbell and Paton, and another by Campbell and Lawrence. Probably Campbell and Paton entered believing that they should have been commissioned to design Parliament Buildings in an official capacity as staff of the Architectural Branch, much as Clayton had earlier been commissioned to prepare designs for the former timber Parliamentary Buildings in his role as Colonial Architect.

The results of the competition, announced on 27 September 1911, only fuelled speculation that staff of the Architectural Branch had an inside advantage. Campbell and Paton were awarded first prize and Campbell and Lawrence fourth, though there is some uncertainty about the authorship of the first-placed entry. According to one of Campbell's cadets, Walter Vine, Campbell was not involved in creating the design. Rather, it was the work of Paton and another of Campbell's draughtsmen, Alan Stevenson (1884-1917),[109] entered in Campbell and Paton's names 'owing to certain regulations, etc.', probably the relatively common practice of attributing the work of a junior in an architectural office to the principal.[110]

Book "2": 1911-15', vol. 3, p. 16 (Victoria University of Wellington Library);o *New Zealand Institute of Architects, Journal of Proceedings*, April 1912, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 39 & Richardson, p. 244.

[108]The total membership of the Institute in 1911 was 110. See Richardson, p. 246.

[109]W, 14, 3, f. 106. Stevenson's death is recorded in *Official History of the New Zealand Engineers during the Great War 1914-1919*, Wanganui, 1927, p. 308.

[110]Stevenson was at least as likely as Campbell to have prepared a competition entry with Paton. Yet another Scot, he emigrated with Paton to New Zealand in 1905, joining the staff of the Architectural Branch that year and working with Paton on designs for the Auckland and Wellington Post Offices. However, unlike Paton, Stevenson was denied the opportunity to become fully involved in the construction of Parliament Buildings and better known as one of its architects; serving with the New Zealand Engineers during the First World War, he was killed in action in 1917.

Whatever the correct attribution of the winning entry, senior staff of the Architectural Branch were the indisputable victors in the battle between the private and public architectural establishments that the Parliament Buildings competition symbolised, further increasing the tension between the two. Six members of the N.Z.I.A. resigned their membership of the Institute on 15 December 1911 and a further two in February 1912. None provided any written explanation for their action but whatever their specific grievances, whether the success of Architectural Branch staff or the failure of N.Z.I.A. members to honour the boycott,[111] the competition proved divisive. In a conciliatory move, Campbell was offered a seat on the N.Z.I.A. Council. He declined the offer, however, commenting that he too might resign. Although the President of the N.Z.I.A. visited Campbell and reported to the Council of the Institute that he would not 'for the present press his resignation,'[112] in fact Campbell quietly allowed his membership to lapse. The working relationship between the Architectural Branch and architects in private practice would henceforth be somewhat uneasy.[113] Already working in a somewhat specialised area of architectural practice, government employees had become even further isolated from their colleagues in private practice as a result of the Parliament Buildings competition.

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[111]Some of those who resigned had themselves entered the competition - J. Charlesworth and William Turnbull, for example. One of Campbell's staff, and joint fourth-prize winner, C. A. Lawrence, also resigned. See Richardson, p. 268.

[112]On Campbell's proposed resignation see Richardson, p. 247 & 'N.Z.I.A. Minute Book "2": 1911-15', vol. 3, p. 60. Victoria University of Wellington Library.

[113]For a fuller discussion of the dispute between the N.Z.I.A. and the Government see Richardson, pp. 238-49.

iv. Parliament Buildings

Although the competition was controversial, the entries themselves revealed a high degree of consensus about the appropriate architectural approach towards design of New Zealand's Parliament Buildings. The Railways Architect, George Troup, made a powerful plea for the Imperial Baroque style arguing that monumental character 'should characterise all National buildings, and of all the architectural styles none do so better than English Renaissance'.[114] On the evidence of the competition entries, most architects agreed, though the view was not unanimous.

143. Even Troup, with W. Gray Young, submitted a modern Gothic design heavily influenced by Giles Gilbert Scott's Liverpool Cathedral (begun 1903), suggesting that in reality he was somewhat uncertain about the appropriate architectural style for the building or, more probably, the judge's preferences. At least one other Gothic design - by Alex Douglas Spiers of Picton - was also submitted.

Nevertheless, most of the entries were Imperial Baroque in style. Wren was the dominant influence and again one of the ultimate sources for the designs prepared by staff of the Architectural Branch. The entries also reveal a growing taste for French classicism. Clearly, New Zealand architects were aware of John Burnet's King Edward VII Galleries of the British Museum (1904-14), London, under construction when the

144. competition was held. Both entries submitted by staff of the

145. Architectural Branch, though scarcely as scholarly as Burnet's work, reflect this new taste for Beaux Arts classicism. In the winning entry,

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[114] W17/9, no. 9, p. 2.

in particular, the long range with colonnades between centre and end pavilions looks back to the East facade (1667-70) of the Louvre by Louis Le Vau, Charles Le Brun and Claude Perrault.

Amongst the designs were two which represented more progressive tendencies in New Zealand architecture; one by William Henry Gummer (1884-1966),[115] the other by Samuel Hurst Seager and G. A. J. Hart.
146. Gummer's symmetrical range with apsidal ends is the product of a more
147. rigorous adherence to Beaux-Arts principles than is evident in the entries submitted by the Architectural Branch. Created by Gummer while he lived in London, it reveals a thorough-going commitment to the latest fashion at a time when many of the London monuments in a Beaux Arts style were still under construction - monuments such as Burnet, Atkinson, Burnham and Swales' Selfridges, Oxford Street (1906-28) as well as Burnet's King Edward VII Galleries themselves.[116] Had Gummer's design been chosen for construction New Zealand could have possessed one of the most modern and up-to-date Parliament Buildings in the British Empire. Recognising the quality of the design, *Progress* argued for its construction on the basis that it was well-suited to New Zealand conditions. Nothing, it said, 'could be more eminently suited to a country where earth tremors are of frequent occurrence',[117] the design being 'all solidly designed, with no towering features which would be liable to be damaged in the event of an earth shake'.[118] What appealed

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[115]On Gummer see Kieran J. Shanahan, 'The Work of William H. Gummer, Architect', B. Arch. Thesis, University of Auckland, 1983; Bruce Petry, 'The Public Architecture of Gummer and Ford', M. Arch. Thesis, University of Auckland, 1992 & 'William Henry Gummer', *N.Z.I.A. Journal*, 20 March 1967, pp. 86-90.

[116]Auckland architects, interpreting in a literal sense the condition that only New Zealand architects were eligible to enter the Parliament Buildings competition, attempted (unsuccessfully) to have Gummer's design disallowed. See Richardson, pp. 248-9.

[117]*Progress*, November 1912, p. 128.

[118]*Ibid.*

most to *Progress*, however, was the more scholarly and chaste approach not yet evident in the public buildings erected in the Dominion.

Seager, who at the turn of the century called for the creation of a distinctly New Zealand architecture,[119] also rejected the exuberance of the Imperial Baroque style in favour of a more chaste French
148. classicism. Working with G. A. J. Hart, he created a design which depended more for effect on the massing of pavilions and a circular library than the boldly modelled colonnades and domes of the more exuberant Baroque entries. The design satisfied *Progress*' concern that New Zealand's Parliament buildings should be able to withstand earthquakes at least as well as Gummer's, while its relatively plain surfaces, though enlivened by historicist ornament, anticipate those of the Stripped Classical works the Government began to erect following Campbell's retirement in 1922.

Of relatively catholic taste, Vernon nevertheless had a distinct preference for the more exuberant Baroque entries.[120] Neither as obviously derivative as many of the designs,[121] nor as forward-looking

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[119]See Ian J. Lochhead, 'The Architectural Art of Samuel Hurst Seager', *Art New Zealand 44*, Spring 1987, pp. 92-9 & S. Hurst Seager, 'Architectural Art in New Zealand', *Journal of Royal Institute of British Architects*, 29 September 1900, pp. 481-91.

[120]In his assessment, McDonald and Dunning's entry, reminiscent of Lanchester, Stewart and Rickards' Cardiff City Hall (1897-1906), would 'from its merits have forced itself into the very front rank'. However, construction of the first stage of the building to their design involved the demolition of Turnbull's General Assembly Library which the competition conditions specified was to be retained - at least until construction of the second stage of Parliament Buildings was completed. In Vernon's view, McDonald and Dunning had thus 'apparently deliberately given away' their chances. See *A Selection of Competitive Designs for the Proposed New Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington, N.Z*, n.p., n.d. (Copy held by Parliamentary Library).

[121]Joshua Charlesworth's unplaced entry, for example, was closely modelled on Alfred Thomas Brumwell's Belfast City Hall (1897-1906), Brumwell himself having been inspired by St Paul's Cathedral and Greenwich Hospital. Edmund Anscombe likewise entered a Wrenaissance design reminiscent of Brumwell's Belfast City Hall. Both Charlesworth's and Anscombe's designs are reproduced in *A Selection of Competitive Designs for the Proposed New Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington, N.Z.*, n.p., n.d. Clere and Mitchell claimed to have modelled their design on Ralph Knott's London County Council Building (begun in 1908) while avoiding some of its 'more obvious defects'. See W17/9, no. 13. Their designs have not been uncovered.

as Gummer's and Seager and Hart's, the entries submitted by staff of the Architectural Branch represented the middle ground acceptable to the politicians for whom the building was to be erected. What was conspicuously missing from their entries, as it was from all the competition designs, was any distinctively New Zealand imagery. The emphasis was instead on the erection of a suitably monumental building worthy of New Zealand's place within the 'hierarchy of Empire'.

Politicians and architects alike had high expectations. Before preparing designs for new Parliament Buildings Campbell was sent an illustration of Francis Mawson Rattenbury's Legislative Buildings, British Columbia (1893-7)[122] by an anonymous supporter enjoining him to 'do likewise'.[123] None of the designs Campbell and his staff prepared resemble Rattenbury's but it was not so much the specific detailing of such examples which was influential as the imperative that the Dominion build a comparably impressive structure. Parallels can be drawn between the designs prepared by staff of the Architectural Branch and Canadian parliamentary buildings but they are rather with early twentieth-century state capitals such as Allan Jeffer's Alberta Legislative Building, Edmonton (1908-13)[124] which, for both political and aesthetic reasons, reveal the same mix of French and English influences as the winning and fourth placed competition entries for New Zealand's Parliament Buildings.

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[122]For an illustration see Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, vol. 2, p. 553.

[123]W, 1, 24/26. Quoted in full in Chris Cochran & Rod Cook, 'Parliamentary Library, Parliament House: Conservation Values', Wellington, April 1989, p. 51.

[124]See also Edward and W. S. Maxwell's Saskatchewan Legislative Building, Regina (1908-12) and Francis L. Worthington Simon's Manitoba Legislative Building, Winnipeg (1913-20). On all of these buildings see Kalman, pp. 556-9. Note also that the Saskatchewan Legislative Building was illustrated in *Builder*, 17 January 1912, pp. 38-9, when the designs for New Zealand's Parliament Buildings were being finalised.

New Zealand's sense of imperial competition was, of course, stronger with its closest British neighbour, Australia, than with Canada. Impressive parliamentary buildings had been built in the Australian colonies, notably Peter Kerr and J. G. Knight's Houses of Parliament, Melbourne (1856-1930),[125] but construction of John Murdoch's Provisional Federal Parliament House, Canberra (1923-7) still lay some years off.[126] Momentarily, New Zealand had stolen a march on its closest and largest British neighbour, preparing designs for a new parliamentary building for the Dominion a year before Australia held a competition for a new capital city, Canberra, in which a Federal Parliament Building would be erected.

Following the competition the first-placed entry was revised under
149. Campbell's direction. In the winning entry, the first stage of construction was to comprise a long range containing the principal rooms - the Legislative Council Chamber and House of Representatives - located on either side of a central axis. In the second stage of construction a wing was to be built at right angles to the main range to house, among other facilities, the library and Bellamys (the catering division). The plan of Campbell and Lawrence's fourth-placed entry was, with some minor alterations, substituted for this scheme, both chambers being located in one half of the main range (to be erected as the first stage of construction) and the library and Bellamys in the remaining half (to be built as the second stage). The elevations were also revised. Cupola were added to the corner pavilions and the design of the entrance

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[125] *The Heritage of Australia: The Illustrated Register of the National Estate*, South Melbourne, 1981, ill between 3/42 & 3/43 see also 3/44-5.

[126] On this building see David Rowe, 'John Smith Murdoch, Early Commonwealth Government Architect of Australia: Towards the Design of Provisional Parliament House', a paper given at the 1993 conference of the Society of Architectural Historians (Australia and New Zealand), especially pp. 24-32. See also David Rowe, 'The Work of John Smith Murdoch in Early Canberra', *Fabrications*, vol. 6, June 1995, pp. 24-37.

pavilion revised to include free-standing columns. Like the floor plans, the completed elevations more closely resembled those of the fourth-placed entry.

Erection of one 'half' of the building - the northern wing and entrance - was begun to the Architectural Branch's design in 1912, though the dome and cupolas were omitted from the design to reduce costs. The Public Works Department put in the foundations for the building by day labour and the Christchurch firm Hansford, Mills and Hardie secured the contract for erection of the superstructure. The firm agreed to complete the contract for its construction by December 1915 but work was not finished until 1922.[127] Problems with the supply of marble[128] and difficulties importing steel during the First World War delayed work on the building.[129] As a consequence, the building itself came to symbolise the Dominion's war effort, the House of Representatives, occupied for the first time in October 1918, being dedicated to those who lost their lives serving their country.[130]

Despite the distinctly British imagery the building has a recognisably New Zealand character. In keeping with government policy and the realities of war time construction, New Zealand materials were used whenever possible. The east and west elevations were faced with

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[127]This is the date the contract was completed but expenditure on the new building continued through until the 1925-6 financial year. See Cochran & Cook, 'Parliamentary Library, Parliament House: Conservation Values', p. 59.

[128]See the various newspaper clippings in MS Papers 1331: 1 (Ministry of Works), A.T.L., on the problems with the supply of blocks of marble of sufficient size. The problems were overcome by opening up a new quarry.

[129]The facades were constructed of brick, the principal ones being faced with stone. Steel beams and columns support reinforced concrete floors. For a full account of the structure before the recent strengthening and refurbishment see Ministry of Works and Development, 'Seismic Reports', Wellington, March 1988. (Copy held New Zealand Historic Places Trust Library, Wellington). The method of construction was again detailed by Nicoll.

[130]See Cochran & Cook, 'Parliamentary Library, Parliament House: Conservation Values', p. 91.

New Zealand stone (Coromandel granite for the base and Kairuru marble for the walls) and mainly South Island rimu was used for interior joinery. It is nevertheless mainly the Maori Affairs Committee Room which imbues the structure with a uniquely New Zealand character. Situated off the western corridor of the building, it is a *whare runanga* (assembly house) notable for its fine ornamental ceiling and carving by Te Kiwi Amohau, assisted by Te Ngara Ranapia, both of the Arawa tribe.[131] Opened in October 1922, it acknowledged the political voice of Maori in the democratic process, though confined that voice to one discrete part of the building. Maori art forms were not used in any other parts of the complex.

Notwithstanding the use of New Zealand building materials and incorporation of Maori art forms in one room, British and British imperial connections dominate in the completed wing. In a symbolic gesture of imperial solidarity, the Speakers' Office was lined with Canadian bird's eye maple and walnut gifted to New Zealand 'to bond the Dominions'.[132] Other materials and fittings not found in New Zealand were imported from Britain, mainly from the suppliers for the Auckland and Wellington Post Offices - the leadlight domes by the Luxfer Prism Company Ltd., London, and the lamp standards and possibly the gates to the grounds were supplied by Birmingham Guild Ltd., for example.[133]

When, in 1908, Campbell proposed a two-stage process of construction for Parliament Buildings he was confident that the second

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[131]See Jim McKenzie, 'Victorian Gothic to Edwardian Baroque', *New Zealand Historic Places*, no. 30, September 1990, p. 18 & also Cochran and Cook, p. 55.

[132]New Zealand had in March 1919 made a gift of New Zealand kauri to Canada for panelling one of the official rooms of the Parliament Buildings, Ottawa. See *N.Z.P.D.*, vol. 192, 1921, p. 657.

[133]For a list of materials used in the construction of the building, see Cochran & Cook, 'Parliamentary Library, Parliament House: Conservation Values', pp. 89-91.

stage would be completed. It was never built, however, and even in the early stages of planning its erection seemed unlikely. The Liberal Government's proposal to create a new government centre complete with government offices and museum was itself being approached in a piecemeal way, construction of the additional buildings being forgotten even before Campbell's retirement in 1922.

Although erection of the remaining portion of Parliament Buildings was mooted in 1951, instead a new executive wing, known as the 'Beehive', was built in 1969-82. Conceived by British architect Basil Spence,[134] it was detailed in New Zealand by the Architectural Division of the Ministry of Works, the direct descendant of the Architectural Branch of the Public Works Department. Its construction, on the site of Clayton's Government House, originally intended for the south wing of Campbell's building, confirmed that Parliament House (as Parliament Buildings became known in its incomplete form) would become yet another of the unfinished projects that have long characterised the provision of accommodation for New Zealand's Parliament.

Finally, a decade after completion of the Beehive, conservation and refurbishment work was undertaken on the Architectural Branch's Parliament House and the adjacent Parliamentary Library. Beginning in July 1992, work was undertaken to strengthen the buildings and provide accommodation for Parliament which better meets the requirements of the 1990s than the 1920s while conserving those features of the buildings

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[134]Spence visited New Zealand to deliver the 1964 Chancellor's lectures at Victoria University of Wellington. Introduced to the Prime Minister of New Zealand, (Sir) Keith Holyoake, he was asked what he would recommend for the Parliament Buildings site. It is widely believed that he conceived the circular Beehive building in response to this casual enquiry. See Shaw, p. 175; *N.Z.I.A. Journal*, August 1964, vol. 31, no. 7, pp. 201-3; *ibid.*, September 1964, vol. 31, no. 9,
pp. 233, 235-6 & Architectural Division of the Ministry of Works, *Additions to Parliament Buildings: Information Leaflet no. 14*, [Wellington], 1969, pp. 9-15.

identified as having significant cultural heritage value. Where practicable, an effort was made to ensure that the parliamentary complex better reflects New Zealanders' sense of identity in the 1990s. A new and more prominent Maori Affairs Committee room was created, the original Maori Affairs Committee room was meticulously conserved and indigenous tree ferns were planted in a glazed court created in a former light-well.[135] On completion of the work in 1996, New Zealand possessed 'the nearest thing to a completed parliamentary complex the nation has ever had',[136] as well as a building which, in its hybrid (1920s and 1990s) form, acknowledges changing perceptions of identity.

Almost immediately after its completion long-rumoured proposals to construct an additional executive wing were brought to public attention when a preservation group protested against the proposed demolition of Broadcasting House to make way for a new executive wing.[137] Parliamentary Service Commission argue that the additional executive wing is required for the increased number of politicians elected under New Zealand's newly-introduced Mixed Member Proportional voting system and to improve the quality of existing accommodation. Whatever the merits of these arguments, the projected construction of yet another executive wing confirms that an additive approach, rather than a commitment to long-term planning, is as characteristic of government architecture today as it was when the Beehive was built in preference to the completion of the Architectural Branch's Parliament Buildings.

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[135]A second lightwell now forms an equally impressive 'Galleria'.

[136]Lochhead, 'Isolated Fragments', *Architecture New Zealand*, May/June 1996, p. 76.

[137]See Save Broadcasting House Campaign, 'Media Kit: Save Broadcasting House from the Politicians Campaign', June 1996, copy held by New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington.

Left incomplete but carefully restored, Parliament House has suffered more than it has benefited from this ad-hoc approach. Nevertheless, even in its fragmentary form the building is the culmination of the Architectural Branch's work under Campbell's aegis. The most monumental Imperial Baroque government building ever erected in the Dominion, its distinctly British architecture asserted New Zealand's allegiances to the Mother Country more emphatically than ever before. Moreover, its construction ensured that the Dominion possessed a full complement of Imperial Baroque government buildings, ranging from small provincial post offices to the seat of government itself. In its public architecture, no less than in its foreign policy, New Zealand was surely 'the most dutiful of Britain's daughters'.

CONCLUSION

The first survey of government architecture in New Zealand, published in 1970, concluded that

> There is no doubt that the spirit of service that has been a feature of the [Government's Architectural] division since its inception carrying forward the tradition of the early Colonial Architects [sic] will continue to serve the Government of the day and all the people of New Zealand.[1]

It was a conclusion which, naturally enough, reflected the 'spirit' of the times. The Architectural Division of the Ministry of Works (as the Architectural Branch of the Public Works Department had become known)[2] celebrated its centennial that year and was widely regarded as an essential part of the public service. Ministry of Works' architects looked back proudly over their department's achievements. Their new Head Office was already named after the department's 'founding father', Sir Julius Vogel,[3] while a new building for the Wellington District Office (completed in 1982) would soon be named after Clayton.[4] The title of the Ministry of Works' 1970 booklet on New Zealand's central governmental architecture, *A Brief History of Public Buildings in New Zealand*, even seemed to imply that all public buildings in the country had been erected by the Government.

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[1]Ministry of Works, *A Brief History of Public Buildings in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1970.

[2]In 1945 the Architectural Branch was reorganised as one of four Divisions of the Public Works Department. See Rosslyn J. Noonan, *By Design: A Brief History of the Public Works Department Ministry of Works 1870-1970*, Wellington, 1975, pp. 177-9. Two years previously a Ministry of Works had been established as a planning and policy agency. The Public Works Department merged with the Ministry of Works in May 1948, its architectural office becoming known as the Architectural Division of the Ministry of Works. See *ibid.*, p. 181.

[3]On the Vogel Building see David Kernohan, *Wellington's New Buildings: A Photographic Guide to New Buildings in Central Wellington*, Wellington, 1989, p. 26.

[4]On the William Clayton Building see *ibid.*, p. 38.

Over two decades later, the corporatisation and sale of the Ministry of Works entirely alters the standpoint from which we view the history of New Zealand's government architecture. Since the 1988 reforms, private architectural firms have assumed an increasing role in the design of governmental buildings. Indeed, their ability to out-perform Works was confirmed as early as 1989 when a consortium of architectural, engineering and conservation practices won the competition to strengthen and refurbish Parliament House. Demonstrably, Works could not match the performance of either the winners of the competition, a large Christchurch-based firm, Warren and Mahoney, and its associates,[5] or the former Architectural Branch of the Public Works Department which, seventy years earlier, established its pre-eminence in the field of government architecture by taking both first and fourth prizes in the competition for the design of Parliament Buildings.

Now that we no longer assume that a governmental architect's office is an essential part of the public service, the reasons for its existence in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are brought into sharper focus. The office of the Superintendent of Public Works emerges more clearly as one of the agencies through which the Crown began to transform the wastelands and unruly settlements of an antipodean wilderness into a new, British civilisation; the office of the Colonial Architect as one of the vehicles by which Vogel's vision of a unified colony was realised and the growth of the Architectural Branch as the product of the Liberals' commitment to renewed governmental expansion.

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[5]Warren and Mahoney won the competition with Holmes Consulting Group Ltd. (engineers) and Howard Tanner and Party Associates Ltd. (conservation architects).

Despite the changes in the role and importance of a governmental architect's office, the Crown's record as architect must finally be judged on whether or not it succeeded in establishing a consistent approach towards design of government buildings throughout the country. Hindered from the very beginning by the lack of any overall plan for their provision (beyond that contained in the estimates voted annually by Parliament), it was only by establishing a consistent approach towards government architecture that the Crown could establish a recognisable visual presence throughout the country.

Viewed as a whole, the Crown's buildings of the period 1840 to 1922 were erected in a diverse range of architectural styles. However, since the history of New Zealand's governmental architecture is one of successive waves of construction during which older buildings were replaced by new, modern works, this diversity did not necessarily preclude the emergence of a coherent architectural approach. Rather, as the primitive buildings of the 1840s were replaced by larger timber buildings and those buildings, in turn, succeeded by brick and stone structures, architects such as Clayton and Campbell were presented with the opportunity to establish new governmental styles of architecture throughout the country.

In the event, most buildings were erected in classical styles, contributing to the creation of a coherent architectural image of government. Unlike Lord Palmerston in England, no New Zealand politicians or administrators decreed that the Gothic style was unsuitable for public buildings. Rather, notable examples testify to the impact of the Gothic Revival in New Zealand in the nineteenth century and the survival of the Gothic style into the early twentieth - works such as Thatcher's Auckland (1847) and New Plymouth Colonial Hospitals (1847-8), Rumsey's Supreme Court House and Post Office and

Customs House (both 1865-8), the Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington (1857 on) and Campbell's Dunedin Law Courts (1899-1902), the last with a distinct Scots Baronial inflection. Simple classical elements, such as arched windows, nevertheless proved remarkably persistent in even the most primitive buildings and the trend throughout the period 1840 to 1922 was towards construction of increasingly monumental buildings in classical styles.

Despite the relentless replacement of buildings with more permanent, monumental structures, examples erected during successive phases of building activity survived in many New Zealand towns. Nowhere was the range better illustrated than at the administrative hub of the
150. Dominion, the government centre at the northern end of Lambton Quay, Wellington. The Minister of Public Works, Joseph Gordon Coates (1878-1943),[6] surveying his Department's achievements from the steps of the newly completed Parliament House in 1922 could cast his eye over Campbell's (1894-6) additions to Beatson's Government Printing Office (1886-8), Clayton's General Government Offices (1875-6), Burrows' Police Station (1880-1) and the Architectural Branch's Magistrate's Court (1902-3) as well as Clayton's timber Government House (1869-71) appropriated for parliamentary use in 1907. A short stroll down Lambton Quay would bring Campbell's Public Trust Office (1906-9) and Wellington Police Station (1914-7) into view.

Although compatible in scale, these buildings had been erected in a wide range of styles. The Italianate forms used by Clayton, Burrows and Beatson were represented as well as the Queen Anne and Imperial Baroque styles of Campbell's term in office. A piecemeal approach

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[6]On Coates see Bruce Farland, *Coates' Tale: J. G. Coates, War Hero, Politician, Statesman*, Wellington, 1995.

towards provision of governmental building, typical of colonial New Zealand architecture as a whole, characterised the government centre. If there was any overall architectural vision, it was founded only on a commitment to following British architectural fashion and asserting the authority of the British Crown by erecting increasingly monumental structures.

Equally important in building a unified nation were the smaller provincial works, erected mainly from the 1870s. From that decade until 1922, the quintessentially governmental practice of using standard designs was more common in the provinces than in the main centres. The range used in the period 1840 to 1922 was wide but recognisable governmental designs had emerged. A simple court house form with a central two-storey gabled portion with wings on either side was used from 1840 through until the 1880s. Two generic provincial government building forms had been developed - Clayton's timber Gothic buildings with steeply-pitched gable roofs and Campbell's hip-roofed 'pavilions' - but both were immediately recognisable as governmental. Finally, Imperial Baroque buildings commanded attention and asserted the Government's presence in provincial towns as surely as they did in the main centres.

In the use of materials, there are also some obvious patterns of development. Although a wide variety was used - ranging from imported timber for the General Government Offices to New Zealand marble for Parliament House - most early government architects preferred to design in masonry. Yet it was the use of timber that distinguished many of the Dominion's early government buildings as distinctively New Zealand in character. Isolated geographically and almost immediately cut adrift from financial aid from the British Treasury, the use of timber was an

economic necessity throughout the period 1840 to 1922, as well as a calculated response to the threat of earthquakes.

The establishment of a unified, British approach towards government architecture was always dependent on the existence of a stable, well-organised architectural office with nation-wide responsibilities for erection of government buildings. Although the office waxed and waned in importance (and did not exist at all between 1854 and 1868) a high level of professionalism and continuity of office practice was maintained. From the very beginning, administrators employed architects of proven ability, most of whom chose to continue working in the Government's architectural office as long as the state would provide employment.

Since New Zealand's governmental architects themselves had much in common some continuity in approach towards design was virtually inevitable. With only one exception, the New Zealand-born William Beatson, all were recent immigrants intent on transplanting and adapting to New Zealand conditions the architectural traditions of the Mother Country. Most were in their early thirties when first appointed (Mason was 30; Thatcher, 31; Burrows, 31-2; Beatson, 26 and Campbell, 32) and were developing their own personal approach towards architecture in New Zealand when they became responsible for establishing a governmental style of building for the country as a whole.[7] Under their leadership, the office resembled British architectural agencies in other British territories, though the dominance of Scottish personnel from the 1890s gave it a distinctive character of its own.

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[7]However, Clayton, in his mid 40s when appointed Colonial Architect, had already developed the approach he was to use as governmental architect before his appointment.

Campbell and Richard's retirement in October 1922 (and the completion of the first and only stage of Parliament Buildings to be erected) did not, of course, mark the end of the practice of government architecture in New Zealand, though it did signal the end of an era. Campbell's immediate successor, John Thomas Mair (1871-1959), Government Architect between 1923 and 1941, had not worked for the Architectural Branch before his appointment.[8] Like Campbell himself, he sought to create a new and modern architectural image of government which reflected his own architectural tastes and training. Both were very different from Campbell's.

After serving his articles in Invercargill with the engineer, William Sharp (1847-1936),[9] Mair worked for the office Engineer of the New Zealand Railways, reporting to the Railways Architect, George Troup. He was involved with the design of Troup's Dunedin Railway Station (1900-6),[10] one of the most impressive of New Zealand's Imperial Baroque governmental buildings, but it was his subsequent architectural training at the University of Pennsylvania, from 1906,[11] that shaped his approach towards government architecture.

Just as Campbell's early timber works resembled Clayton's, so Mair's first buildings owed a debt to those erected by the Architectural Branch under Campbell's leadership.[12] However, as Mair tightened his

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[8]He was, however, already familiar to governmental officers having worked for the Railways, Defence and Education Departments.

[9]On Sharp see F. W. Furkert, *Early New Zealand Engineers* (W. L. Newnham, ed.), Wellington, 1953, pp. 264-5.

[10]See F. E. G., 'John Thomas Mair (F) F.R.I.B.A.', *N.Z.I.A. Journal*, vol. 26, no. 10, November 1959, p. 282. For illustrations of the Dunedin Railway Station see John Stacpoole and Peter Beaven, *New Zealand Architecture 1820-1970*, Wellington, 1972, pp. 56-7.

[11]He studied at the University of Pennsylvania under Paul Cret and worked in the office of George B. Post in New York, and in England, before returning to New Zealand. See F. E. G., 'John Thomas Mair (F) F.R.I.B.A.', *N.Z.I.A. Journal*, vol. 26, no. 10, November 1959, p. 282.

[12]Such as the Patea Post and Telegraph Office (1923).

control over the Architectural Branch, new models for government buildings were adopted and Stripped Classical and Moderne office buildings erected. Responding to growing nationalist sentiment, Mair's Palmerston North Police Station (1938) and other works also incorporated Maori decorative elements, a development never anticipated by the Crown's architectural office in the period 1840 to 1922.

For Mair's predecessors, faced with the challenges of asserting British authority and establishing a national infrastructure in a sparsely-populated and isolated colony, the practice of government architecture was an altogether different enterprise. In some ways, however, the erection of buildings with a recognisably New Zealand architectural inflection by Mair's office was itself evidence of their success. Originally fringed only by small, isolated and independent settlements, the country, by 1922, had a modern governmental infrastructure complete with distinctly British government buildings which asserted the Crown's authority and fostered a sense of national unity and identity. In more ways than one, New Zealand had been built.

APPENDIX I

The Architectural Staff of the Crown's Principal Architectural Offices in New Zealand, 1840-1922

i. Superintendents of Public Works, Auckland, 1840-52

William Mason, 1 March 1840 - resigned 31 July 1841[1]

Henry Charles Holman, 1 August 1841 - resigned 31 March 1842[2]

John Rawlings Malcott, 16 March 1842 - resigned 21 August 1842[3]

Thomas Cleghorn, 22 August 1842 - resigned 30 October 1842[4]

Charles Whybrow Ligar, 1 November 1842 - 7 January 1844[5]

David Rough, 8 January 1844 - 5 February 1845[6]

Frederick Thatcher, 6 February 1845 - November/December 1846[7]

Charles Whybrow Ligar, November/December 1846 - 31 October 1849[8]

Reader Gilson Wood, Government Architect & Superintendent of Public Works, 1 November 1849 - 1 March 1852[9]

ii. Wellington-based Staff, 1846-52

Lt. Collinson (Temporary Colonial Engineer of the Southern District), 20 November 1846 - c.1848[10]

Thomas Henry Fitzgerald, Surveyor, 1 July 1844 & Superintendent of Public Works and Civil Roads, 16 August 1847 - 18 January 1851[11]

Henry John Cridland, Overseer of Public Works, Survey Department, July 1846 - June 1847 & Acting Clerk, Royal Engineers, June 1847 - c. May 1848[12]

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[1]IA, 12, 1 & IA, 12, 2.

[2]IA, 12, 2 & IA, 12, 3.

[3]IA, 12, 3.

[4]*Ibid.*

[5]*Ibid.*

[6]IA, 12, 6 & IA, 12, 7.

[7]IA, 12, 7.

[8]IA, 12, 8.

[9]IA, 12, 11.

[10]NM, 8, 46/563.

[11]NM, 11, 2.

Edward Roberts (Clerk of Works), 18 January 1851 - March 1852[13]

iii. Inspector of Public Works, 1857-c.1865

Col. Thomas Rawlings Mould, 29 December 1857 - c.1865[14]

iv. Achitect to the Public Buildings Commission, 1865-8

Edward Rumsey, 1 March 1865 - August 1868[15]

v. Colonial Architect's Office, 1869-77

William Henry Clayton (Colonial Architect) 1 April 1869 - died in office, 23 August 1877[16]

Thomas Turnbull, c.1871-2[17]

William Frederick Hubbard, 1871-2[18]

Charles Edward Beatson, 20 May 1874[19] -

Alfred Clayton, 1 July 1874[20] -

Pierre Finch Martineau Burrows, 10 September 1874[21] -

Frederick de Jersey Clere, 1877[22] -

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[12]NM, 8, 46/401 & NM, 8, 47/380.

[13]NM, 11, 4.

[14]*New Zealand Gazette*, 31 December 1857, p. 208.

[15]IA, 1, 65/1813.

[16]*A.J.H.R.*, 1872, G.-10 ('Report of the Actuary under the Civil Service Acts'), p. 20; *New Zealand Mail*, 25 August 1877, p. 15 & S. A. Crighton, 'William Henry Clayton: Colonial Architect', M.A. Thesis (History), University of Canterbury, 1985, p. 156.

[17]*Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol. 1 (Wellington Provincial District), Welllington, 1897, p. 585.

[18]CH287, ICPW 1897/7 on file 2651/1877, National Archives, Christchurch.

[19]*A.J.H.R.*, 1874, H.-27. Note that W, 14, 1, records Beatson's date of appointment as 17 rather than 20 May 1874.

[20]*A.J.H.R.*, 1874, H.-27.

[21]W, 14, 1.

[22]*Evening Post*, 30 November 1878, p. 2.

vi. Architect's Branch, North Island, 1878-88

Pierre Finch Martineau Burrows (Architect for North Island from 1 April 1878)- dismissed 31 April 1884[23]

Charles Edward Beatson - dismissed 31 August 1887[24]

Frederick de Jersey Clere - left 1878[25]

William Crichton, 1 April 1879 - dismissed August 1880, reappointed November 1881[26] -

vii. Architect's Office, South Island, 1883-88

John Campbell, 7 February 1883[27] -

viii. Public Buildings Department of the Defence Department, 1889

John Campbell (Draftsman, transferred from Architect's Branch, South Island), 1 April 1889[28] -

Eben Connal, 1 April 1889[29] -

William Crichton (transferred from Architect's Branch, North Island), 1 April 1889[30] -

ix. Architectural Branch of the Public Works Department, 1890-1922[31]

John Campbell (transferred from Public Buildings Department) - retired October 1922[32]

Eben Connal (transferred from Public Buildings Department) - dismissed 14 May 1891[33]

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[23]IA, 3, register entry 84/707 & W, 14, 1.

[24]W, 14, 2.

[25]*Evening Post*, 30 November 1878, p. 2.

[26]W, 14, 1.

[27]W, 14, 2.

[28]*Ibid.*

[29]W, 14, 1.

[30]*Ibid & A.J.H.R.*, 1881, H.-37, p. 8.

[31]Staff records beyond 1913 are sparse and the dates many architects left the office are not known.

[32]*New Zealand Gazette*, 26 October 1922, p. 2870.

[33]W, 14, 1.

William Crichton (transferred from Public Buildings Department)- dismissed 30 June 1892[34]

Arthur William Cumming, 9 September 1894 (December 1895 transferred to Auckland) - resigned 31 May 1903[35]

Pierre Finch Martineau Burrows, 9 May 1895 (at Hunterville), 31 March 1905 (temporary architectural assistant, Wellington) - 1908[36]

William Tole (Assistant Draftsman, Auckland), 28 April 1890[37] -

William Withers, 28 April 1890[38] -

William Hislop, 1 July 1896[39] -

Edward McCallum Blake, 12 April 1897 - resigned 31 January 1901, reappointed 25 April 1913[40] -

Gustav Bjornstad, temporary draftsman Wellington, 18 October 1898, transferred 1 May 1901 - dismissed 6 April 1902[41]

Charles Lawrence, 12 January 1899 - resigned 14 February 1907[42]

Lewellyn Lincoln Richards, 4 April 1899 - October 1922[43]

Thomas James McCosker (Architectural Draftsman, Dunedin) 17 April 1899[44] - 1906 (transferred to Wellington Office) - c. 1922 (retired)

Cecil Everand Farr (Architectural Draftsman, Christchurch), 22 January 1901 - retired 30 November 1921[45]

Archibald Fraser Macrae, 14 January 1901 - left before 14 August 1913[46]

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[34] *Ibid.*

[35] W, 14, 3.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] W, 14, 1.

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] *Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913, p. 2610.

[40] W, 14, 4 & W, 14, 8.

[41] W, 14, 4.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] *Ibid.*, & *New Zealand Gazette*, 26 October 1922, p. 2870.

[44] W, 14, 4 & *Supplement to New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913, p. 2605.

[45] *Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913, p. 2610 & *New Zealand Gazette*, 12 January 1922, p. 86.

James Baird, 6 February 1901, 1903 transferred to Auckland - resigned 16 April 1907[47]

Arthur Thomas Ford, 1 June 1901[48] -

Thomas Stoddart Lambert, 1 July 1902 - resigned 31 August 1905[49]

George Vasper Venning, 1 May 1903 - left by 14 August 1913[50]

Alan Stevenson, 16 November 1905 - died 1917[51]

Bertie Fleming Kelly, 19 February 1906[52] -

Horace Victor Samuel Griffiths, 25 April 1906 - resigned 30 June 1907[53]

Claude Ernest Paton, 10 September 1906 - 1946[54]

Daniel Clark Hay, 8 April 1907[55] -

William Gray Young, 8 April 1907 - resigned 9 November 1907[56]

Lloyd Harold Keals, Architectural Draftsman, Auckland, 1 May 1907[57] -

Dawson Reeves, 5 September 1907 - left by 14 August 1913[58]

Leonard Walpole Orr, 10 September 1907 - left by 14 August 1913[59]

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[46]W, 14, 4. Macrae is not included in the list of public servants in the *Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913.

[47]W, 14, 4.

[48]*Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913, p. 2611.

[49]W, 14, 4.

[50]*Ibid.* Venning is not included in the list of public servants in the *Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913.

[51]*Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913, p. 2610 & *Official History of the New Zealand Engineers during the Great War, 1914-19*, Wanganui, 1927, p. 308.

[52]*Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913, p. 2610.

[53]W, 14, 4.

[54]*Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913, p. 2610 & *Evening Post*, 9 July 1953, p. 10.

[55]*Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913, p. 2610.

[56]W, 14, 4.

[57]*Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913, p. 2610.

[58]W, 14, 4. Reeves is not included in the list of public servants in the *Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913.

[59]W, 14, 5. Orr is not included in the list of public servants in the *Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913.

Charles Bligh Livesay, 16 September 1907 - left by 14 August 1913[60]

Archibald Basil Child, 21 November 1907 - c. 1913[61]

James Peter Nicoll, 23 January 1908[62] -

Marcus King, 13 April 1908 - left 30 September 1925[63]

Robert Adams Patterson, 9 May 1908 - retired Government Architect 1952[64]

George F. Penlington, 9 May 1908[65] -

John Anderson, 9 June 1908 - departed by 14 August 1913[66]

Gilbert Davy Bettger, 25 January 1909 - dismissed 31 January 1910[67]

Thomas Stevenson Gray, 25 January 1909 - resigned 31 May 1911[68]

Ernest Albert Serle, 13 February 1909 - 30 April 1909[69]

Frederick George Bradley, 17 February 1911[70] -

Herbert Leslie Hickson, 23 February 1911 - left by 14 August 1913[71]

C. E. J. Price, 1 June 1911[72] -

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[60]W, 14, 4. Livesay is not included in the list of public servants in the *Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913.

[61]W, 14, 5. Child is listed as a draughtsman in the list of public servants as at August 1913 in the *Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913, p. 2610 but, unlike other staff of the Architectural Branch, he is not listed as an *architectural* draughtsman.

[62]*Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913, p. 2605.

[63]*Ibid.*, p. 2610 & *Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 22 October 1925, p. 3020.

[64]*Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 22 October 1925, p. 3020 & Ministry of Works, *A Brief History of Public Buildings in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1970.

[65]*Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913, p. 2610.

[66]W, 14, 4. Anderson is not included in the list of public servants in the *Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913.

[67]*Ibid.*

[68]*Ibid.*

[69]W, 14, 5.

[70]*Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913, p. 2610.

[71]W, 14, 4. Anderson is not included in the list of public servants in the *Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913.

[72]*Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913, p. 2610.

Harold Matthewman, 16 June 1911[73] -

Stuart Ralston Tennant, 16 April 1912 - left by 14 August 1913[74]

Ernest William George Coleridge, 22 April 1912 - left by 14 August 1913[75]

Ainslie Morrin Ballantyne, 10 March 1913 - left by 14 August 1913[76]

Walter F. C. Vine (architectural cadet), c. 1917[77] -

F. W. Boyd, architectural cadet, c. 1917[78] -

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[73] *Ibid.*

[74] W, 14, 8. Tennant is not included in the list of the public servants in the *Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913.

[75] *Ibid.* Coleridge is not included in the list of public servants in the *Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913.

[76] *Ibid.* Ballantyne is not included in the list of public servants in the *Supplement to the New Zealand Gazette*, 14 August 1913.

[77] W. F. C. Vine, 'John Campbell: F.R.I.B.A.', unpublished typescript, June 1957. Sheppard Collection, School of Architecture, University of Auckland.

[78] W, 14, 8.

APPENDIX II

National Archives, Head Office, Wellington:
A Brief guide to Archives on Government Buildings, 1840-1922

A Controller of Dominion Archives was appointed to safeguard New Zealand's governmental archives as early as 1926 but it was not until 1957 that a statutory body, National Archives, was established to conserve and provide public access to the collections. Empowered under the Archives Act of that year to conserve governmental records 25 or more years of age, National Archives' holdings are now extensive. The collections of the Head Office, Wellington, were the principal archival source for this thesis. The following account of its holdings on government buildings is intended to alert researchers to some of the pitfalls and rewards of using the collections.[1]

Most of National Archives' holdings are outlined in departmental series lists, each series comprising the records of an individual government department or institution. However, in the mid 1980s archives' staff adopted another management and listing system known as G.A.I.M.S. (Government Archives Integrated Management System), intended to assist the researcher by providing access to archives via broad topic groupings rather than merely by the department of origin. With the increased amount of material accessioned following recent governmental restructuring, National Archives' staff have been unable to keep up with the cataloguing needed to operate G.A.I.M.S. As a result, many recent accessions are merely recorded in Accession Lists awaiting G.A.I.M.S. listing.

Since most of the records on New Zealand's governmental buildings erected in the period 1840 to 1922 found their way to

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[1]For a full list of the archives consulted at National Archives in preparing this thesis see the bibliography.

National Archives before the introduction of G.A.I.M.S., the most useful guides to holdings are the Departmental series lists. One notable exception is the G.A.I.M.S. accession of Lands and Survey Departmental maps and plans held under the reference AAFV 997. Included in this collection are Mould's plans for Government House, Auckland (ills. 31-3) and Shoppee's plans for the New Zealand Lunatic Asylum (ills. 41-3).

For the period 1840 until 1873 (when the Colonial Architect's Office was transferred to the Public Works Department) searches of IA, 1 (the Colonial Secretary's Inwards Correspondence) and NM, 8 (the Inwards Correspondence of the Colonial Secretary of the Province of New Munster) were the most profitable. Relatively few architectural plans have survived from this period and some of those that are extant have been separated from the documents to which they were originally attached. A rudimentary card index has been compiled for some of the separated and other architectural plans created between 1840 and c. 1870[2] but it is incomplete and there is no commitment to its completion. The most significant plans from this period are, however, illustrated in this thesis.

A search of governmental records for the period 1873 to 1922 is more straightforward, though not always more profitable. In 1952 many Public Works Department archives transferred to the Dominion Archives in the Hope Gibbons building, Wellington, were destroyed in a fire. As a result, most of the Public Works Department correspondence files created before 1913 were lost, although the

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[2]Some miscellaneous Public Works Department plans (such as a floor plan of the Christchurch Post Office (1876)) are also indexed but coverage is random.

correspondence registers, which provide brief annotations of inwards letters, were salvaged.

Thankfully, architectural plans created between 1873 and 1922 had not been transferred to the Dominion Archives before the Hope Gibbons fire. The most important holding is series W, 15, transferred to National Archives from 1958. Access is via the original Public Works Department numbers, ranging, for the period 1873 to 1922, from P.W.D. 1 to over 50,000. The original numbers are used when ordering plans at National Archives, prefixed (since computerisation of National Archives' ordering systems) with W, 000. Finding aids at National Archives include the original registers and indexes (W, 16; W, 18 & G.A.I.M.S. ref: AADX 6587/1a-d, micros. T 6489-92) and 'tick sheets' of holdings prepared by National Archives' staff. The tick sheets list plans only by number without identifying their subject and need to be used in conjunction with other finding aids.

Works Consultancy's office in Wellington also holds copies of Public Works Department plans on aperture cards, the former Ministry of Works having copied the plans before they were transferred to National Archives. A full search of both National Archives' and Works' holdings for the years 1870-1922 reveals that neither has a full set. Some of the originals for which aperture cards survive (notably Clayton's projects for Parliament Buildings, reproduced as ills. 52a, 52b & 56) never found their way to National Archives and are now lost. Regrettably, some of Works' aperture cards are of poor quality so only sub-standard reproductions are now available of missing plans.

Conversely, National Archives holds some plans not copied by Works, notably those contained in contract rolls (W, 33). The

researchers task is, however, also frustrated at National Archives by the prohibitive charges for photographing architectural plans. Only when National Archives' management allows researchers to make private arrangements for taking photographs, or finds a way to reduce charges, will reproduction of plans in its holdings become more common. Until that time, its collections of architectural plans will remain a rich but relatively little known source of information on New Zealand's architectural history.

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AAOM, 6209 (Probates)
AAFV 997 (Lands and Survey Department Maps & Plans)
AAMF 6101 (Post Office Historical Files)
AADX W3649 plan 20546 in folder 14, Government Life Insurance Building

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G, 1 (Ordinary Despatches from the Secretary of State, December 1840-1853)
G, 2 (Confidential Despatches from the Secretary of State, January 1873-December 1899)
G, 7 (Desepatches from the Lieutenant-Governor of New Munster, July 1847-March 1853)
G8 (Despatches from the Lieutenant-Governor of New Ulster, May 1851-April 1853)
G, 22-23 (Register and Index of Inwards Correspondence, December 1840-December 1899)
G, 25 (Ordinary Despatches to the Secretary of State, February 1840 - December 1899)
G, 26 (Confidential Despatches to the Secretary of State, February 1870-December 1899)

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H, 1, 30/21 (file on proposed General Lunatic Asylum)

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IA, 1 (Inwards Correspondence)
IA, 2 (Indexes to Inwards Correspondence)
IA, 3 (Registers of Inwards Correspondence)

IA, 4 (Registers of Outwards Correspondence)
IA, 12 (Blue Books)
IA, 135 (Inwards Correspondence)

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT:
LE, 1

NEW MUNSTER:
NM, 1 (Despatches from the Colonial Office to the Lieutenant Governor)
NM, 2 (Despatches from the Governor-in-Chief to the Lieutenant-Governor, July 1847-March 1853)
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Auckland:
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AP, 5 (Superintendent's Miscellaneous Papers)
AP, 12, 1 & 2 (Provincial Engineer-in-Chief's Letter Book)
W-A, 3, 1 Engineer-in-Chief, Grahamstown, Inward Letters

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W-NA, 1, 1 (Inwards Correspondence, Provincial Engineer)
W-NA, 4, 3 (Specifications and drawings)
HB, 5 (Indexes to the Superintendent's Correspondence)
HB, 7 (0) (Return of Officers of Provincial Establishments)

Marlborough:
MP, 2 (Outwards Correspondence)
Nelson:
NP, 1 (Reports of Committees)
NP, 2 (Nelson Provincial Council Papers)
NP, 5 (General Government Correspondence)
NP, 9, (Registers of Inwards Correspondence)
NP, 17 (Tenders, Specifications and Contracts)
NP, 24, 10 (Miscellaneous Papers re post office/customs house)
NP, 28 (Inwards Letters, Provincial Engineers Department)
NP, 29 (Outwards Letters, Provincial Engineers Department)

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OP, 5 (Superintendent's Letters from the General Government, August 1853-December 1861)
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SP, 16 (Papers on Law and Police)
SP, 17 (Letter & Minute Books)
SP, 22 (Miscellaneous Papers)
SP, 25 (Railways Papers)
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BUILDING THE DOMINION:

GOVERNMENT ARCHITECTURE IN NEW ZEALAND,

1840-1922

A Thesis

Submitted for the Degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

in the

University of Canterbury

by

Peter Richardson

Volume Two: Illustrations

University of Canterbury

1997

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Abbreviations

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N.A. - National Archives, Head Office, Wellington
N.Z.H.P.T. - New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington

Attribution

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[Print from aperture card of P.W.D. 20674, Plan Records, Works Consultancy, Wellington]

87. P. F. M. Burrows, Perspective of Wellington Supreme Court complex (c. 1879).
[A.T.L., F-0683MNZ-1/4, Engraving from the *Illustrated News*]

88. C. E. Beatson, Project for Assembly Library, Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington (1884).
[Print from aperture card of P.W.D. 14510 5/5, Plan Records, Works Consultancy, Wellington]

89. C. E. Beatson, Government Printing Office, Wellington (1886-8).
[A.T.L. G4083 1/2]

90. P. F. M. Burrows, First Floor Plan, Mt Eden Prison, Auckland (1882).
[N.A., W, 15, P.W.D. 13824]

91. P. F. M. Burrows, Mt Cook Gaol, Wellington (1883 onwards).
[A.T.L., G EP. 3276 1/2]

92. P. F. M. Burrows, Proposed Elevation Mt Eden Prison, Auckland (1882).
[New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington]

93. W. H. Clayton, Akaroa Court House (1878-80).
[Photo by W. J. Gardner, held by New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington]

94. P. F. M. Burrows, Waiuku Court House (1885).
[Photo by E. Hanson, held by New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington]

95. P. F. M. Burrows, Masterton Court House (1883-4).
[A.T.L., F-0107695-1/2]

96. P. F. M. Burrows, Perspective of Public Building, probably proposed New Zealand Insurance Company Offices (date unknown).
[Copy of perspective held by Mr Chris Rush, Tauranga]

97. J. Campbell, Project for Dunedin Railway Station (1884).
[From a slide of a drawing held by the Hocken Library, Dunedin. A copy of this drawing is also held by N. A. as W, 32, Dunedin Passenger Station, Unnumbered Contract Documents (John Campbell's Papers)]

98. J. Campbell, Detail of Project for Dunedin Railway Station (1884).
[From a slide held of a drawing held by the Hocken Library, Dunedin. A copy of this drawing is also held by N.A. as W, 32, Unnumbered Contract Documents (John Campbell's Papers)]

99. J. Campbell, Project for Palmerston Post & Telegraph Office (c. 1885).
[N.A., W, 15, P.W.D. 13211]

100. J. Campbell, Amended Project for Palmerston Post & Telegraph Office (1885).
[N.A., W, 15, P.W.D. 13211]

101. J. Campbell, Further Amended Design for Palmerston Post & Telegraph Office (1885).
[N.A., W, 15, P.W.D. 13211]

102. J. Campbell (attrib.), Ophir Post & Telegraph Office (1886).
[A.T.L., 8996 35mm]

103. J. Campbell, Porirua Lunatic Asylum (1891 onwards).
[A.T.L., F-0057696-1/2-]

104. J. Campbell, Elevation of Project for Government Printing Office, Wellington (1891).
[Print from aperture card of P.W.D. 17228, 5/5, Plan Records, Works Consultancy, Wellington]

105. J. Campbell, Perspective, Government Printing Office, Final Design (c. 1894).
[*A.J.H.R.*, 1896, D.-1]

106. J. Campbell, Government Printing Office, Wellington (1895-6) & C. E. Beatson, Original Government Printing Office Building (1886-8).
[Former Government Printing Office Library, Wellington]

107. J. Campbell, Perspective, Dunedin Gaol (c. 1894, built 1895-7).
[*A.J.H.R.*, 1896, D.-1]

108. J. Campbell, Dunedin Law Courts (1899-1902) & Dunedin Gaol (1895-7).
[A.T.L., G-0011961-1/1]

109. J. Campbell, Residence for Master of Native School (1898).
[Print from aperture card of P.W.D. 18131, Plan Records, Works Consultancy, Wellington]

110. J. Campbell, Native School & Class Room, Class D (1898).
[Print from Aperture Card of P.W.D. 18201, Plan Records, Works Consultancy, Wellington]

111. J. Campbell, Officer's Cottage (1908).
[Print from Aperture Card of P.W.D. 23347, Plan Records, Works Consultancy, Wellington]

112. J. Campbell, Leeston Court House (1898).
[N.A., W, 15, P.W.D. 18163]

113. J. Campbell, Hunterville Court House (1895).
[Peter Richardson]

114. J. Campbell, Takaka Post Office (1900).
[Takaka Museum as reproduced in *Historic Places in New Zealand*, no. 51, January 1995, p. 15.]

115. J. Campbell, Otahuhu Court House & Police Station (1894).
[Print from aperture card of P.W.D. 17200, Plan Records, Works Consultancy, Wellington]

116. W. Crichton, Whangarei Court House (1890).
[Drawing no. 1499, Author's Collection]

117. J. Campbell, Marton Court House (1897).
[New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington]

118. J. Campbell, Opunake Post Office (1900).
[A.T.L., F-0022620-1/2]

119. J. Campbell, Masterton Post Office, Elevation & First Floor Plan (1899-1900).
[N.A., W, 15, P.W.D. 18518, held with 22741, 4/6]

120. J. Campbell, Masterton Post Office (1899-1900).
[*A.J.H.R.*, 1900, D.-1]

121. J. Campbell, Ashburton Post Office (1900-01).
[Ashburton Museum, file 26]

122. J. Campbell, Spit Post Office, Port Ahuriri, Napier (1902-3).
[A.T.L., Watt Collection, F80430 1/2]

123. J. Campbell, Levin Post Office (1903).
[A.T.L., F 118099 1/2]

124. C. Lawrence & J. Campbell, Napier Departmental Offices (1902-4, 1905-7).
[A.T.L., Watt Collection, F800505 1/2]

125. J. Campbell, Wellington Magistrate's Court House (1902-3).
[A.T.L, Watt Collection, F80460 1/2]

126. J. Campbell, Greymouth Court House (1911-12).
[N.Z.H.P.T., Wellington]

127. J. Campbell, Hokitika Departmental Offices (1908-9, 1912-3).
[A.T.L., Radcliffe Collection, G5842 1/2]

128. J. Campbell, Greymouth Post Office (1905-8).
[A.T.L., Price Collection, G115 1/2]

129. J. Campbell, Nelson Post Office (1905-6).
[A.T.L., Jones Collection, G11255 1/1]

130. J. Campbell, Wanganui Post Office (1901-2).
[A.T.L., Denton Collection, G15986 1/1]

131. J. Campbell, Hastings Post Office (1910).
[A.T.L., Watt Collection, F-80632-1/2]

132. J. Campbell, Wellesley Street Telephone Exchange, Auckland (1918-20).
[N.Z.H.P.T., Auckland]

133. J. Campbell, Wellington Customs House (1902-5).
[A.T.L., C-22392]

134. J. Campbell & L. L. Richards, Public Trust Head Office, Wellington (built 1906-9).
[N.Z.H.P.T., Photograph by Frank O'Leary, neg. no. B2267]

135. J. Campbell & L. L. Richards, Public Trust Head Office, Wellington (built 1906-9).
[N.Z.H.P.T., former National Publicity Studios' photograph]

136. J. Campbell & C. E. Paton, Chief Post Office, Auckland (1909-12).
[A.T.L., Price Collection, G1654 1/2]

137. J. Campbell & C. E. Paton, General Post Office, Wellington (1909-12).
[A.T.L., S. C. Smith Collection, G22969 1/2]

138. J. Campbell, First Floor Plan, Auckland Post Office (1909).
[N.A., W, 15, P.W.D. 23821]

139. J. Campbell, Wellington Police Station (1914-7).
[A.T.L., S. C. Smith Collection, G-0024870-1/1]

140. J. Campbell, Sketch of Proposed Elevation to Molesworth Street of Project for Reconstructed Gothic Parliament Buildings (1908).
[*A.J.H.R.*, 1908, D.-8]

141. J. Campbell, Sketch of Proposed Elevation to Charlotte Street and Lambton Quay, Project for Parliament Buildings on Government House site (1908).
[*A.J.H.R.*, 1908, D.-8]

142. J. Campbell, Government House, Wellington (1908-10).
[A.T.L., F-117625-1/2-]

143. G. A. Troup & W. Gray Young, Elevations & Ground Floor Plan, Competition Entry for new Parliament Buildings (1911).
[*A Selection of Competitive Designs for Proposed New Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington, N.Z.*, Wellington, n.d.]

144. J. Campbell (attrib.) & C. Paton, Perspective & Principal Floor Plan, Winning Competition Entry for new Parliament Buildings (1911).
[*A Selection of Competitive Designs for Proposed New Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington, N.Z.*, Wellington, n.d.]

145. J. Campbell & C. A. Lawrence, Elevations and First Floor Plan, Competition Entry for new Parliament Buildings (1911).
[*A Selection of Competitive Designs for Proposed New Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington, N.Z.*, Wellington, n.d.]

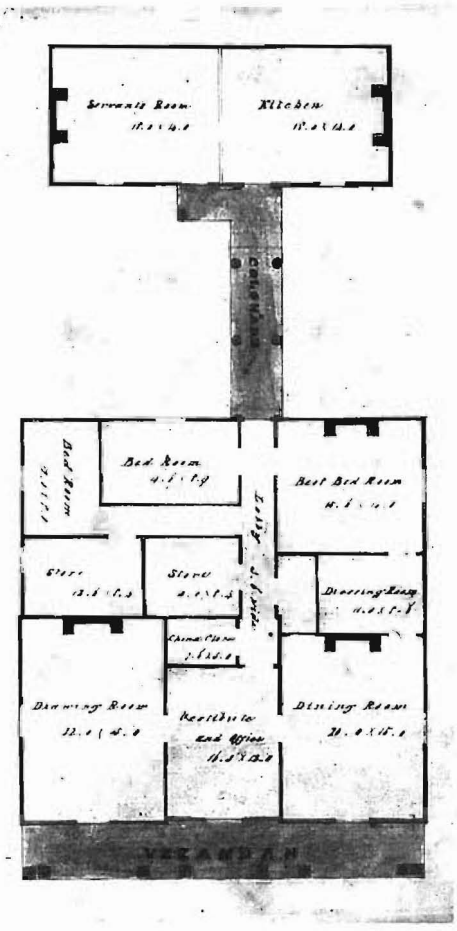
146. W. H. Gummer, Elevations & Cross Sections, Competition Entry for new Parliament Buildings (1911).
[*A Selection of Competitive Designs for Proposed New Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington, N.Z.*, Wellington, n.d.]

147. W. H. Gummer, Principal Floor PLan and Detail of Facade, Competition Entry for new Parliament Buildings (1911).
[*A Selection of Competitive Designs for Proposed New Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington, N.Z.*, Wellington, n.d.]

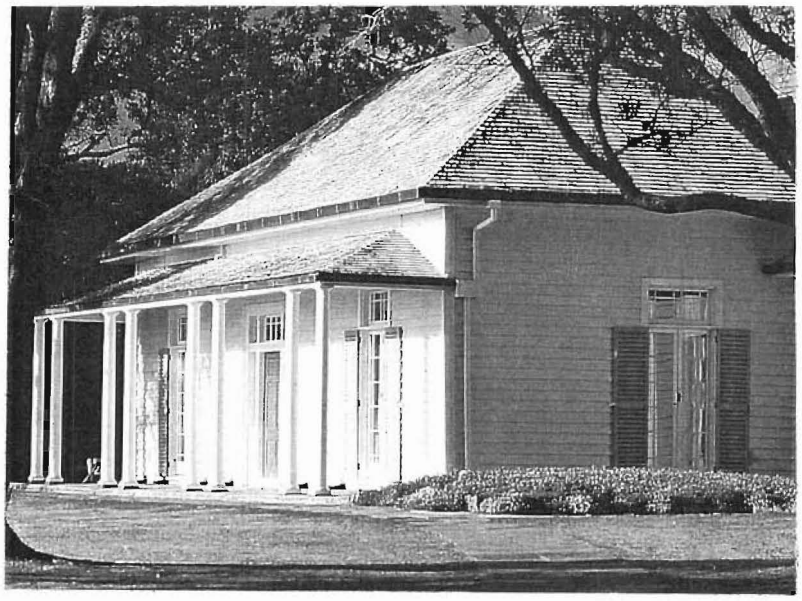
148. S. Hurst Seager & G. A. J. Hart, Perspective and Floor Plans, Competition Entry for new Parliament Buildings (1911).
[*A Selection of Competitive Designs for Proposed New Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington, N.Z.*, Wellington, n.d.]

149. J. Campbell, Perspective (by Harold Matthewman), Final Design for Parliament Buildings (1911).
[A.T.L., F-29085-1/2-]

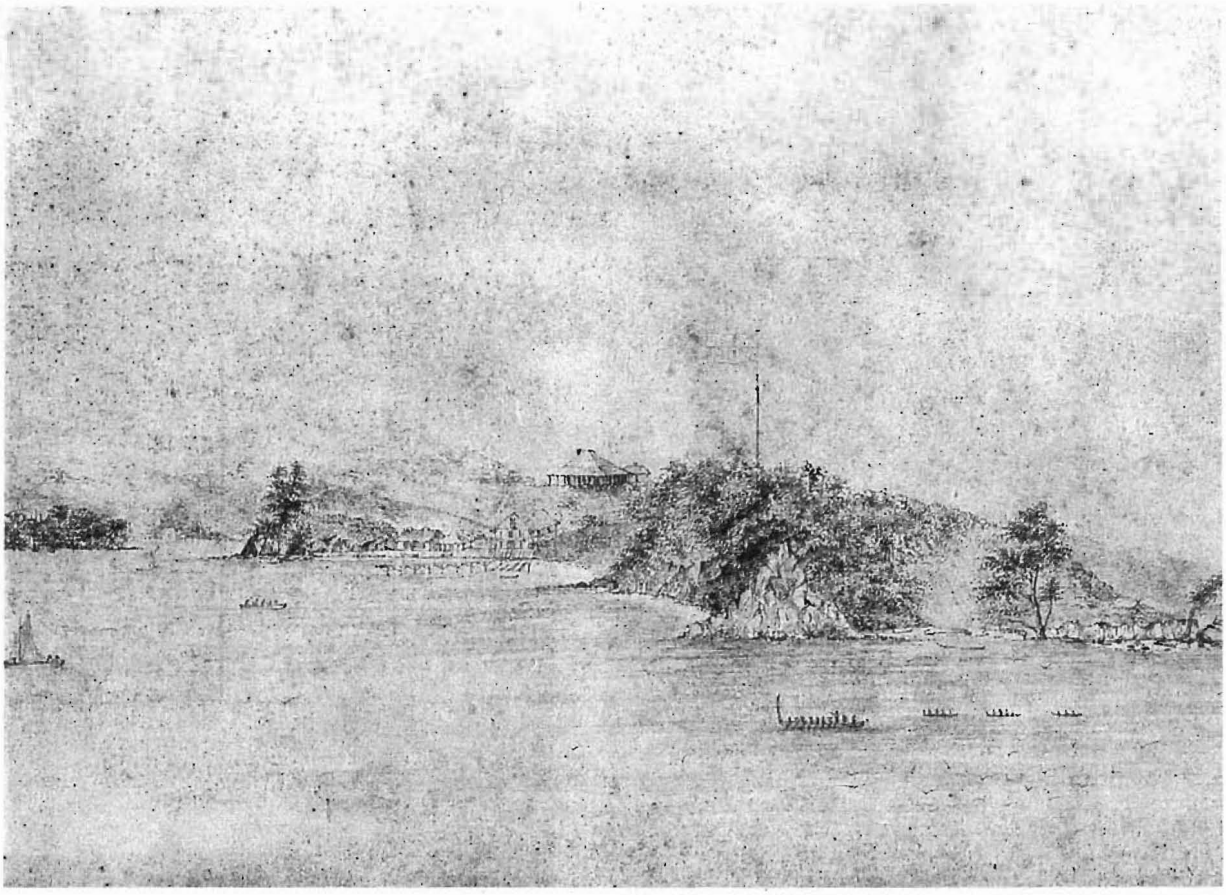
150. View of Lambton Quay, Wellington, 1905.
[Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, neg. no. C11398]



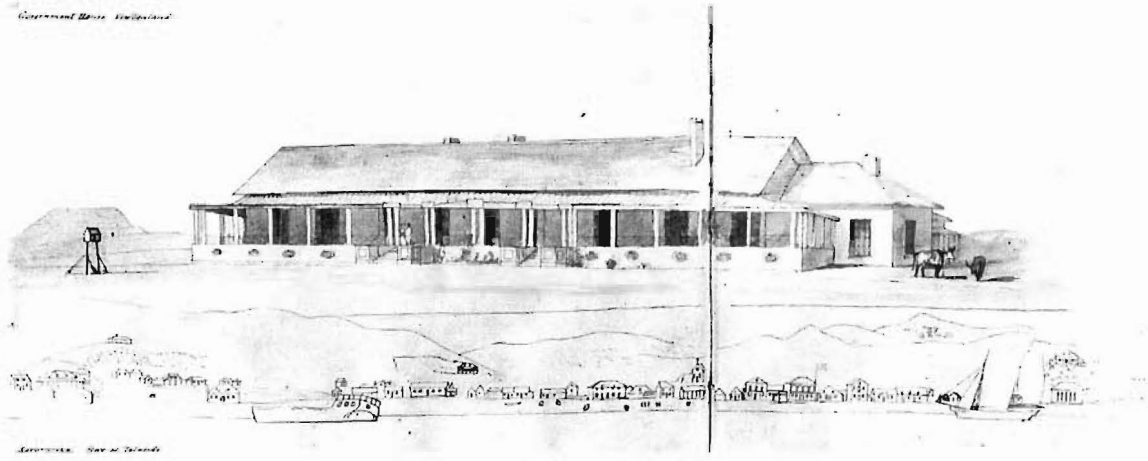
1. J. Verge, British Residency, Proposed Floor Plan (c. 1833).



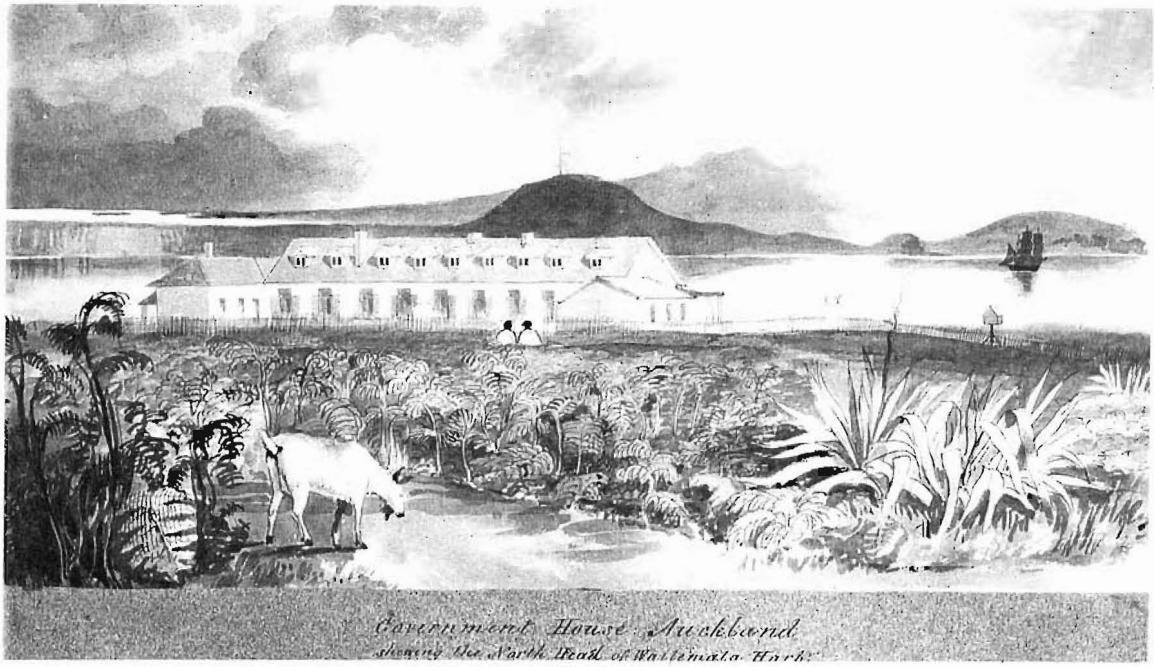
2. J. Verge & A. Hallen, former British Residency (Treaty House), Waitangi (1833).



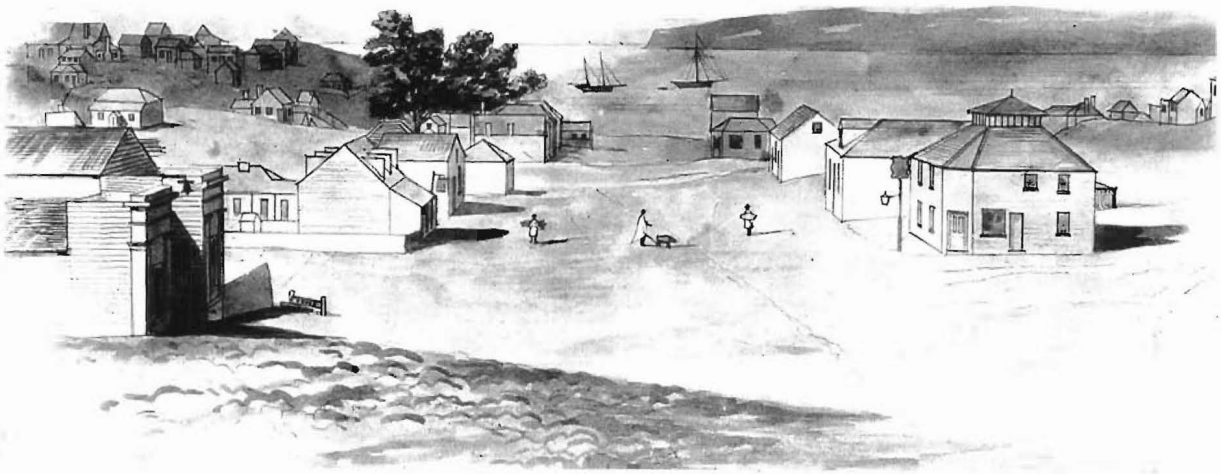
3. F. Mathew, Drawing of Okiato (c. 1840).



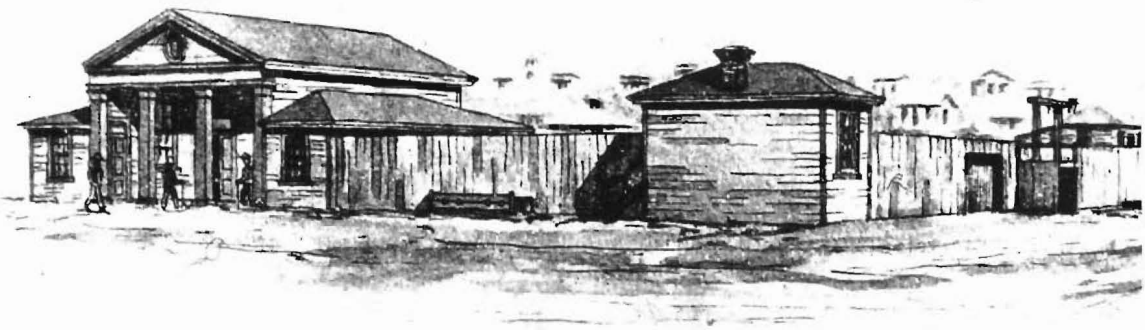
4. J. Manning, W. Mason & H. C. Holman, Front Elevation, Government House, Auckland. Drawing by E. Ashworth . (c. 1843).



5. J. Manning, W. Mason and H. C. Holman, Rear Elevation, Government House, Auckland. Drawing by E. Ashworth (c. 1843).

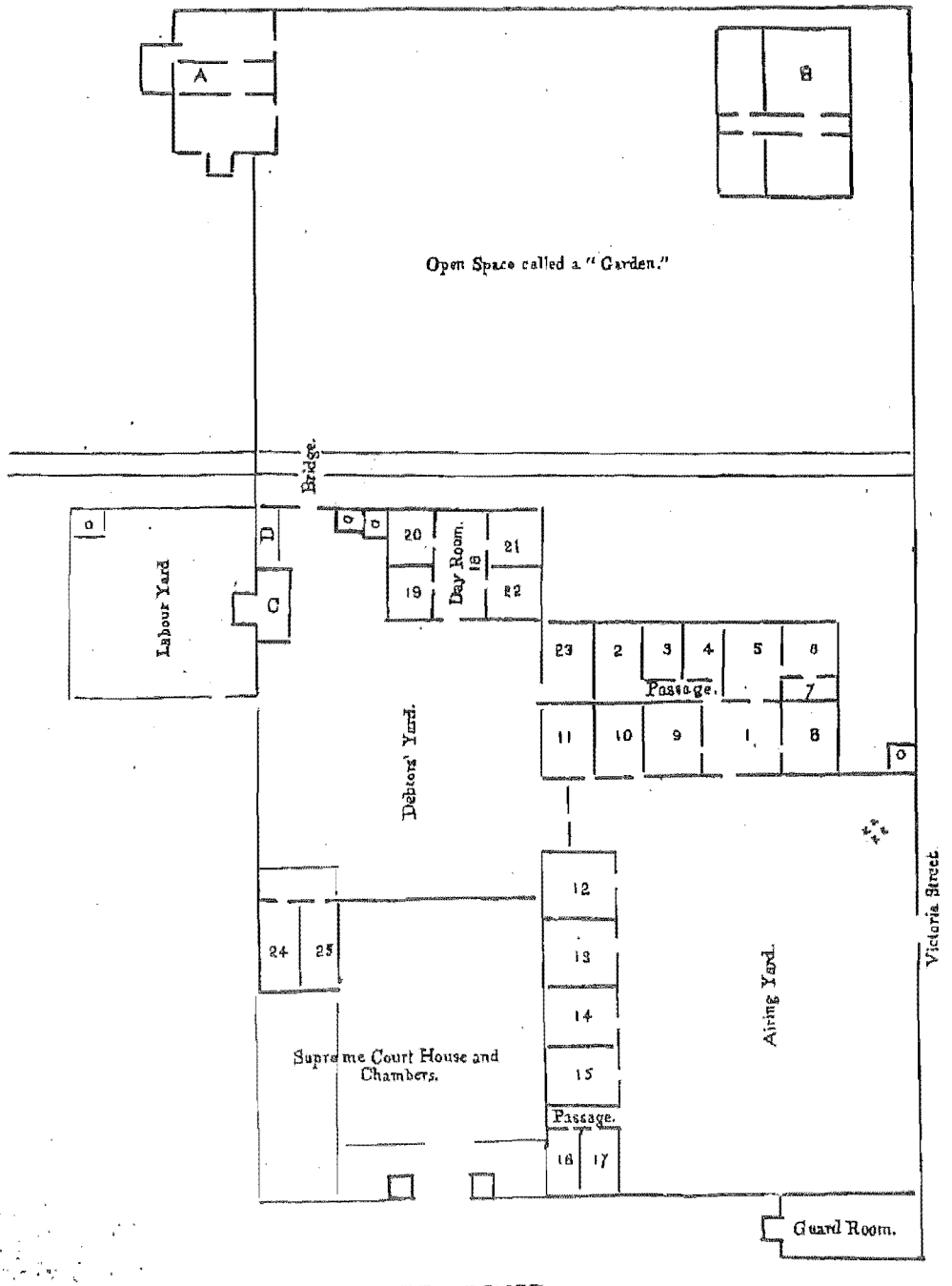


6. W. Mason, Auckland Supreme Court House (1841-2) - left, foreground. Drawing of Queen Street, Auckland, by E. Ashworth (c. 1843).



7. W. Mason & D. Rough, Auckland Supreme Court House (1841-2, portico 1844) & Gaol (1841 on). Drawing by E. Bartley.

8. M. Lewis, Darlinghurst Court House, original wing (1835-44).



REFERENCE

CRIMINAL

No. 1.—Day Room.
2 and 3.—Stores, provisions, &c.
4.—Overseer's Room.
5.—Cooking-room.
6.—Surgery.
7.—Turnkey's Bed-room.
8.—Cell for prisoners committed.
9.—Ditto.
10.—Ditto.
11.—General Cell, originally intended as a Lock-up Room for women.
12.—Mess-room for Men.
13.—Ditto for Women.

Nos. 14 and 15.—Cells for prisoners convicted of petty offences.
16 and 17.—Punishment Cells.

DEBTORS

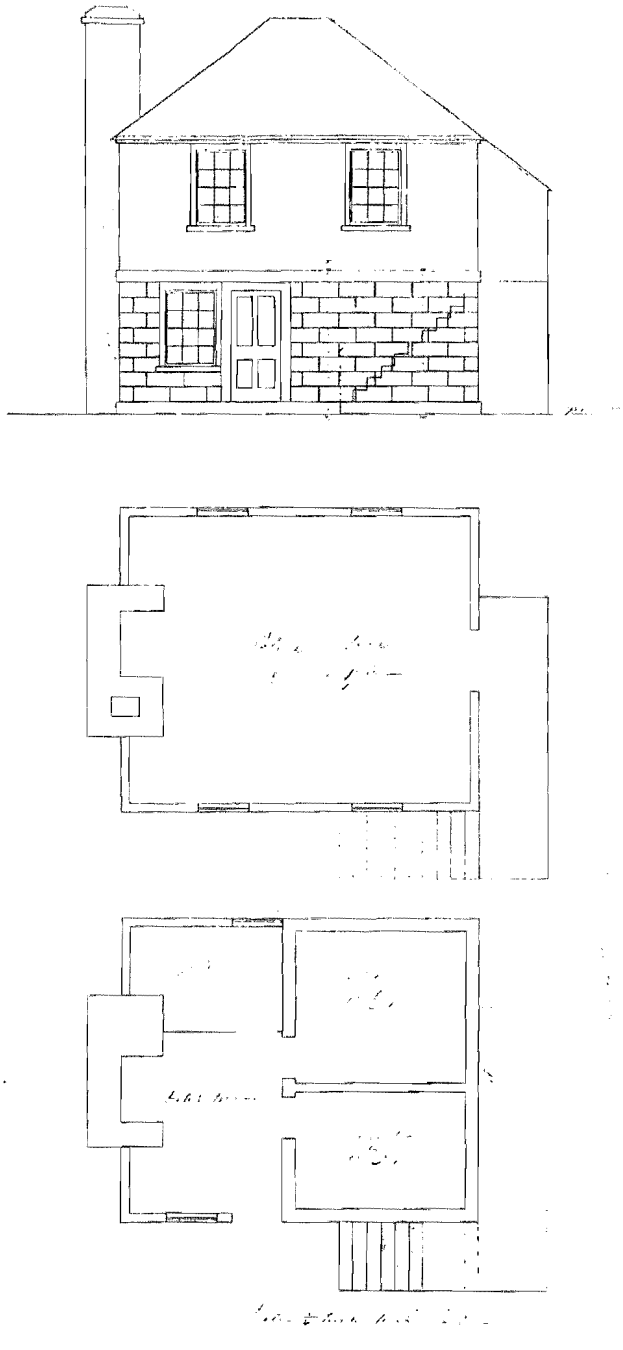
18.—Debtors' Day-room.
19.—Warder's Room.
20.—Debtor's Cell.
21.—Stores.
22.—Debtor's Cell.

WOMEN.

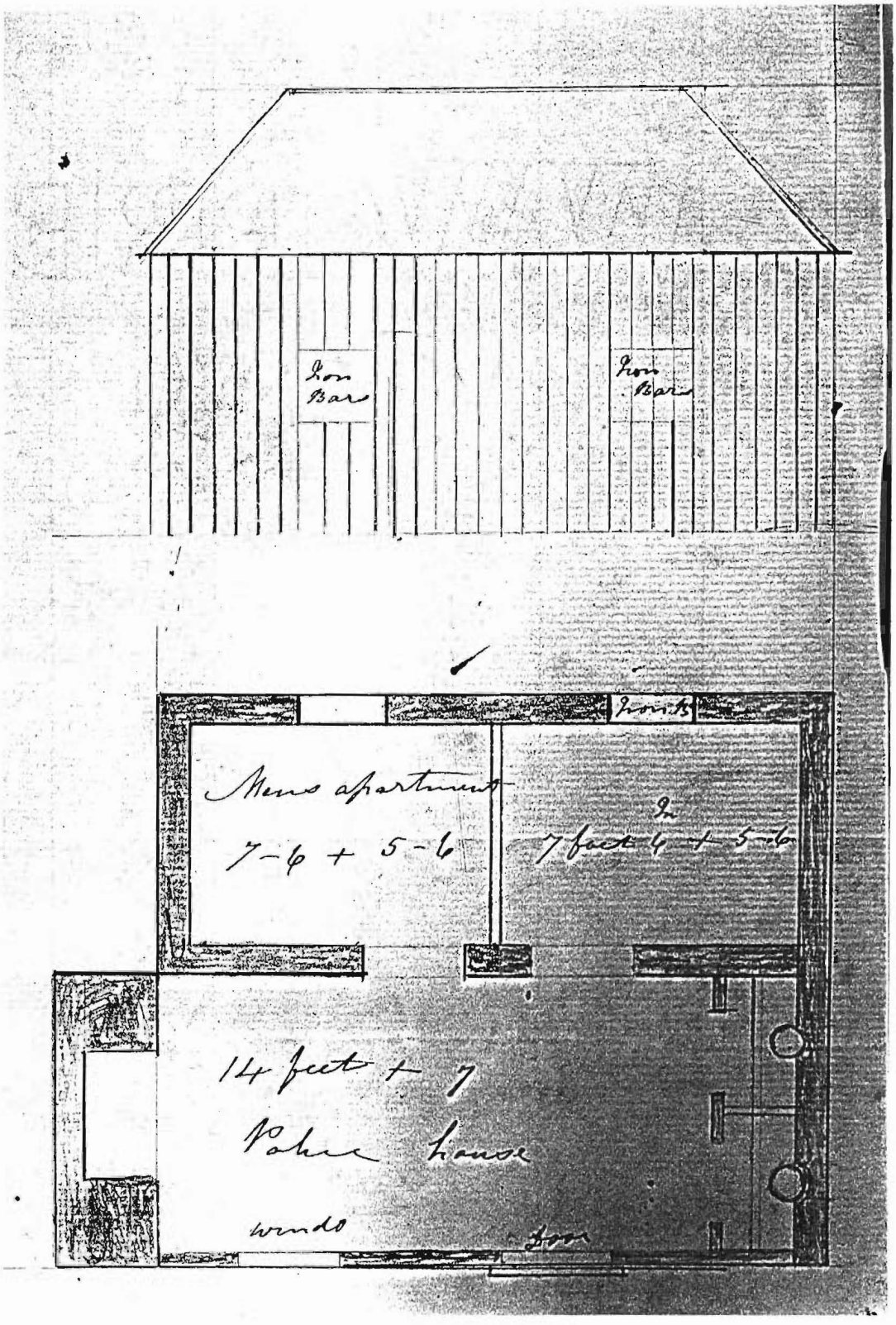
23.—General Cell for all classes, day and night.
24 and 25.—Female Debtors Cells.

A.—Original Head Gaoler's House.
B.—Present ditto.
C.—Kitchen.
D.—Shed used for Washing.
E.—Privies.
The Well.
The Ditch.

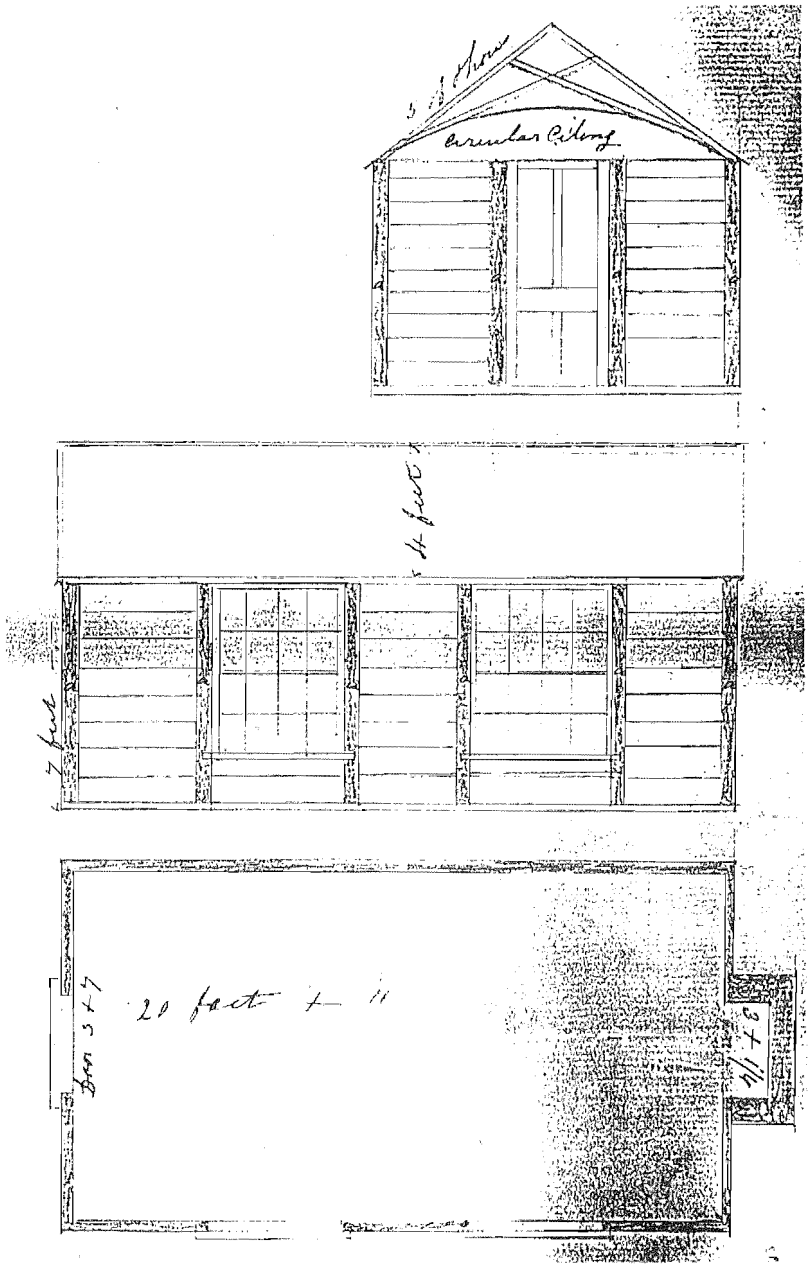
9. W. Mason, H. C. Holman, D. Rough & others, Floor Plan, Auckland Gaol as at 1861 (built 1841 on).



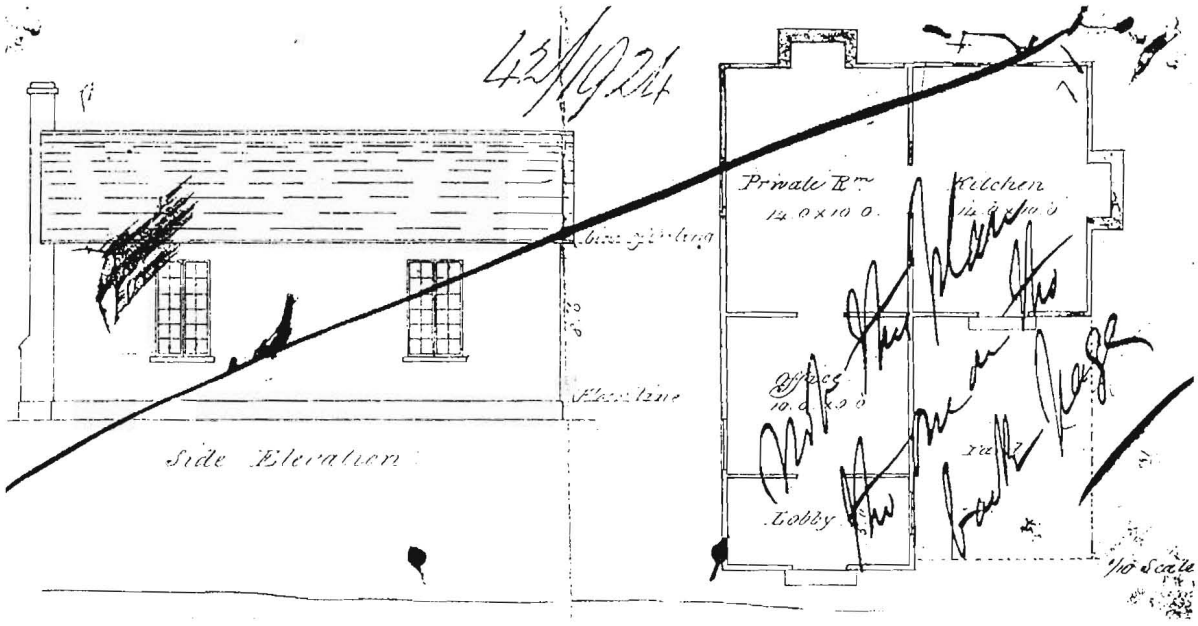
10. G. Robinson, Project for New Plymouth Gaol & Police Station (1842).



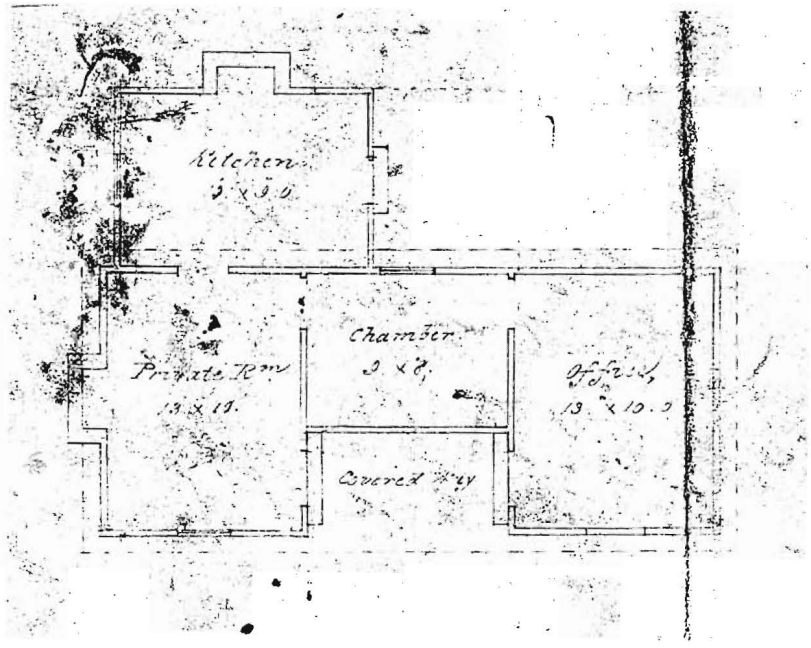
11. Architect unknown, Project for New Plymouth Gaol & Police Station (1842).



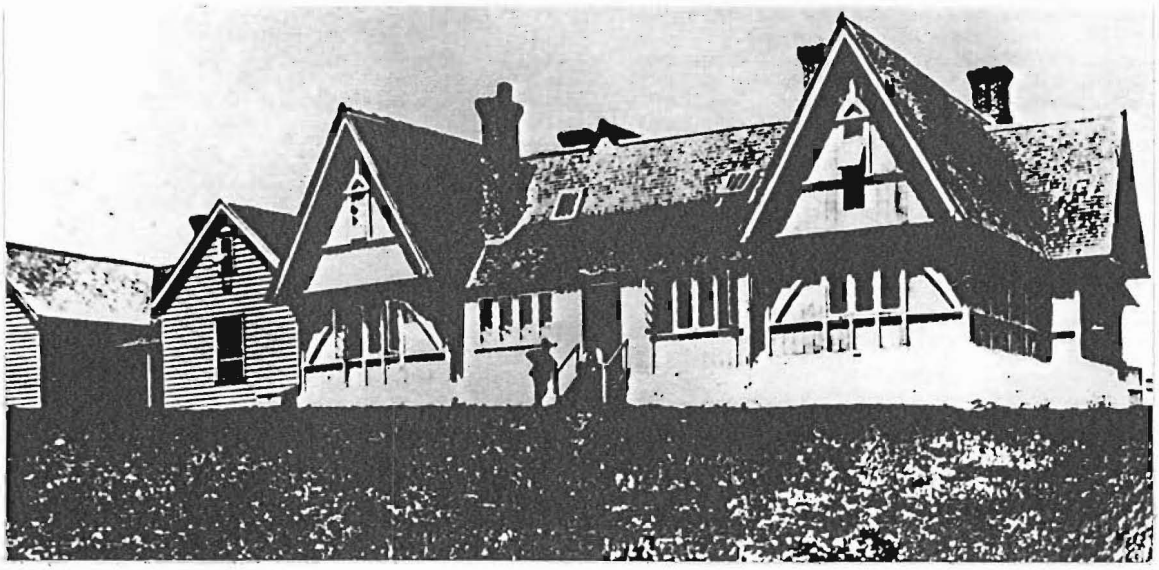
12. Architect unknown, Project for New Plymouth Police Station (1842).



13. Architect unknown, Project, Floor Plan, Wellington Post Office (1842).

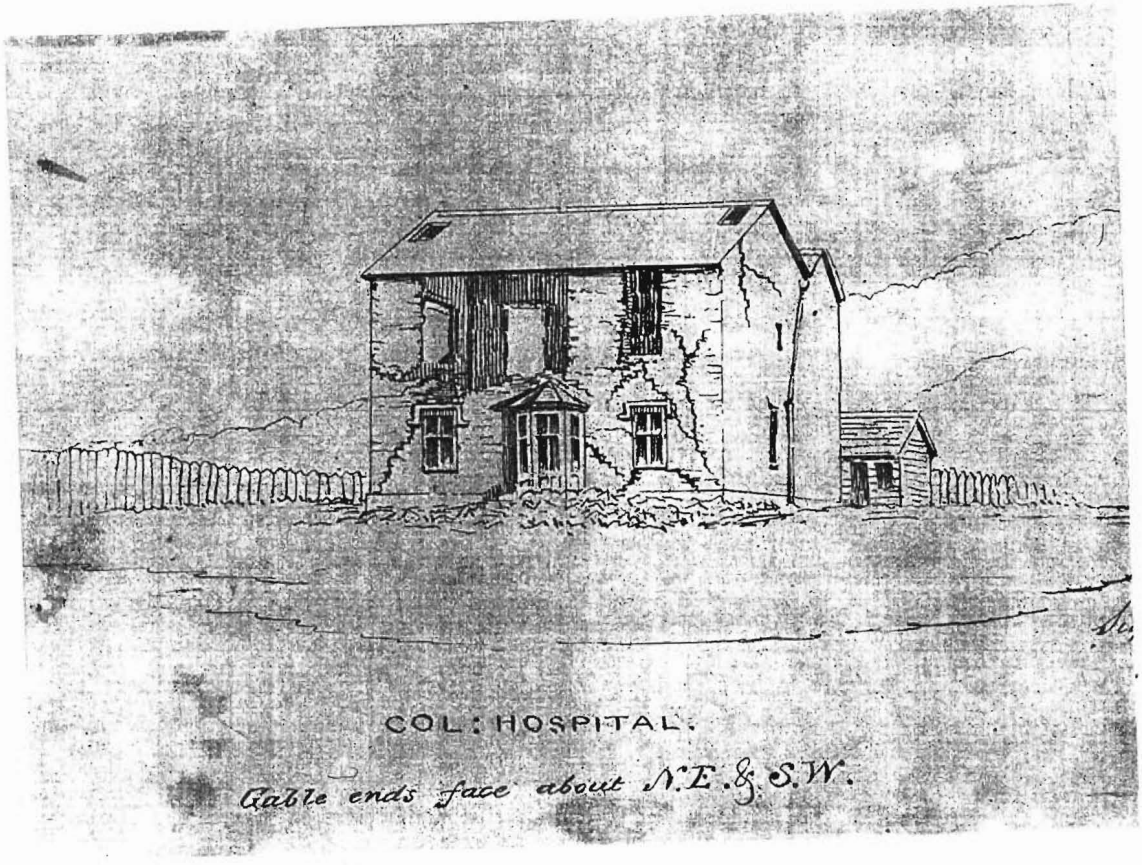


14. Architect unknown, Floor Plan, Wellington Post Office (1842).

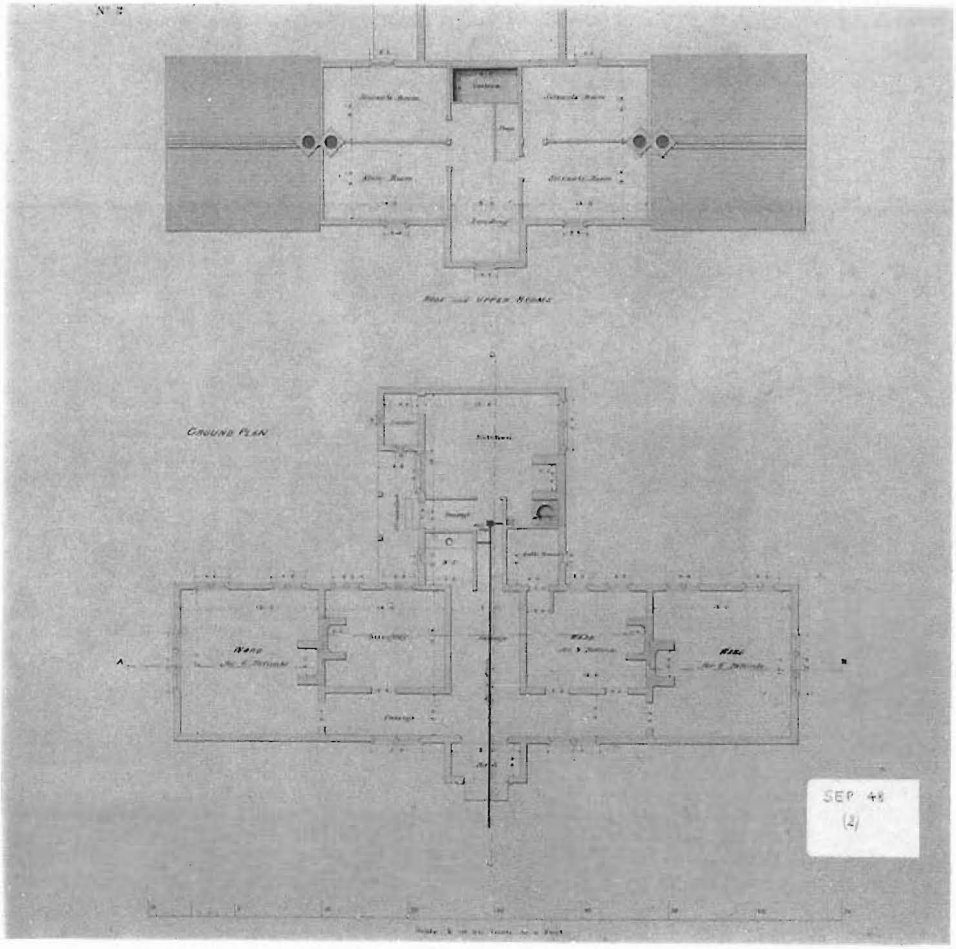


15. F. Thatcher, Auckland Colonial Hospital (1847).

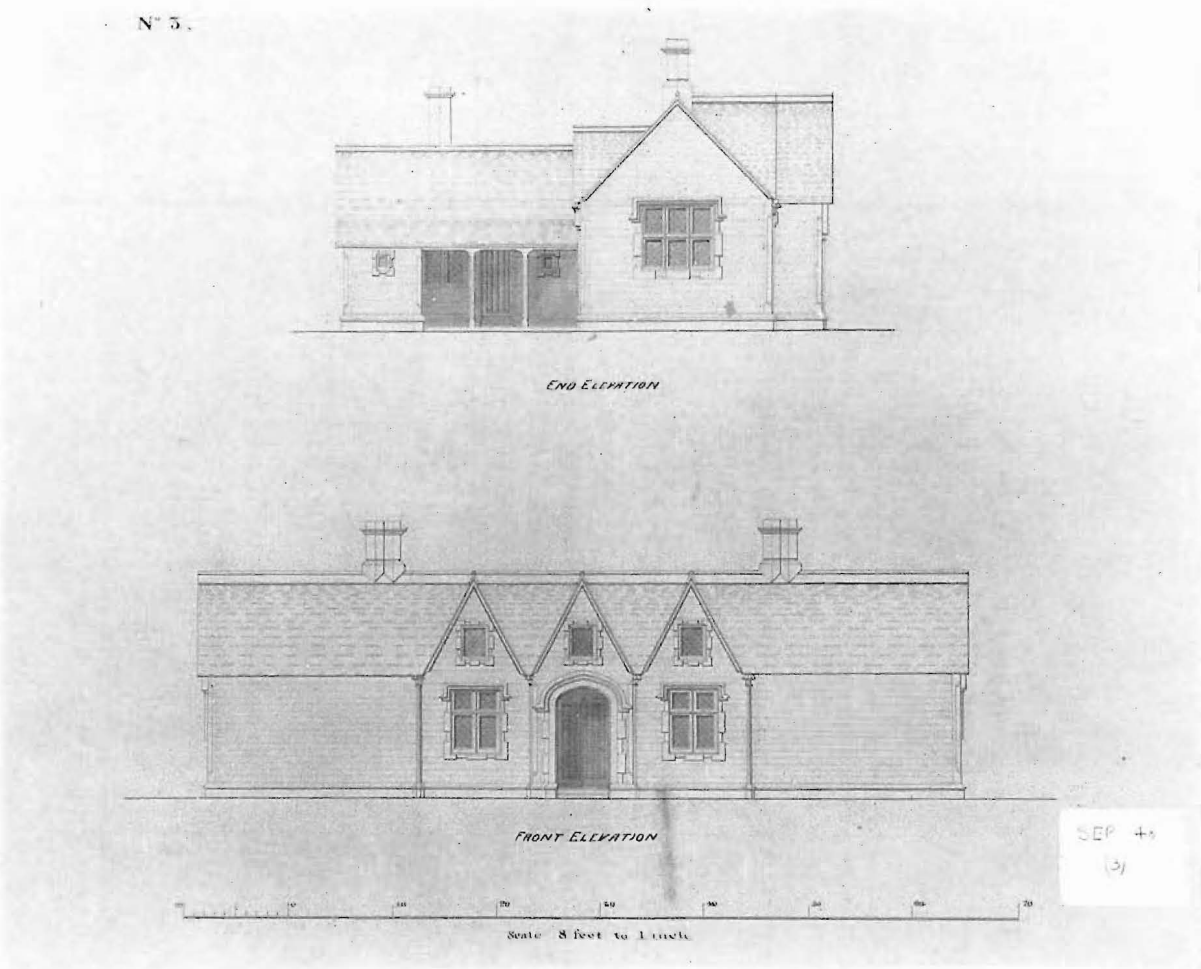
16. F. Thatcher, New Plymouth Colonial Hospital (1847-8).



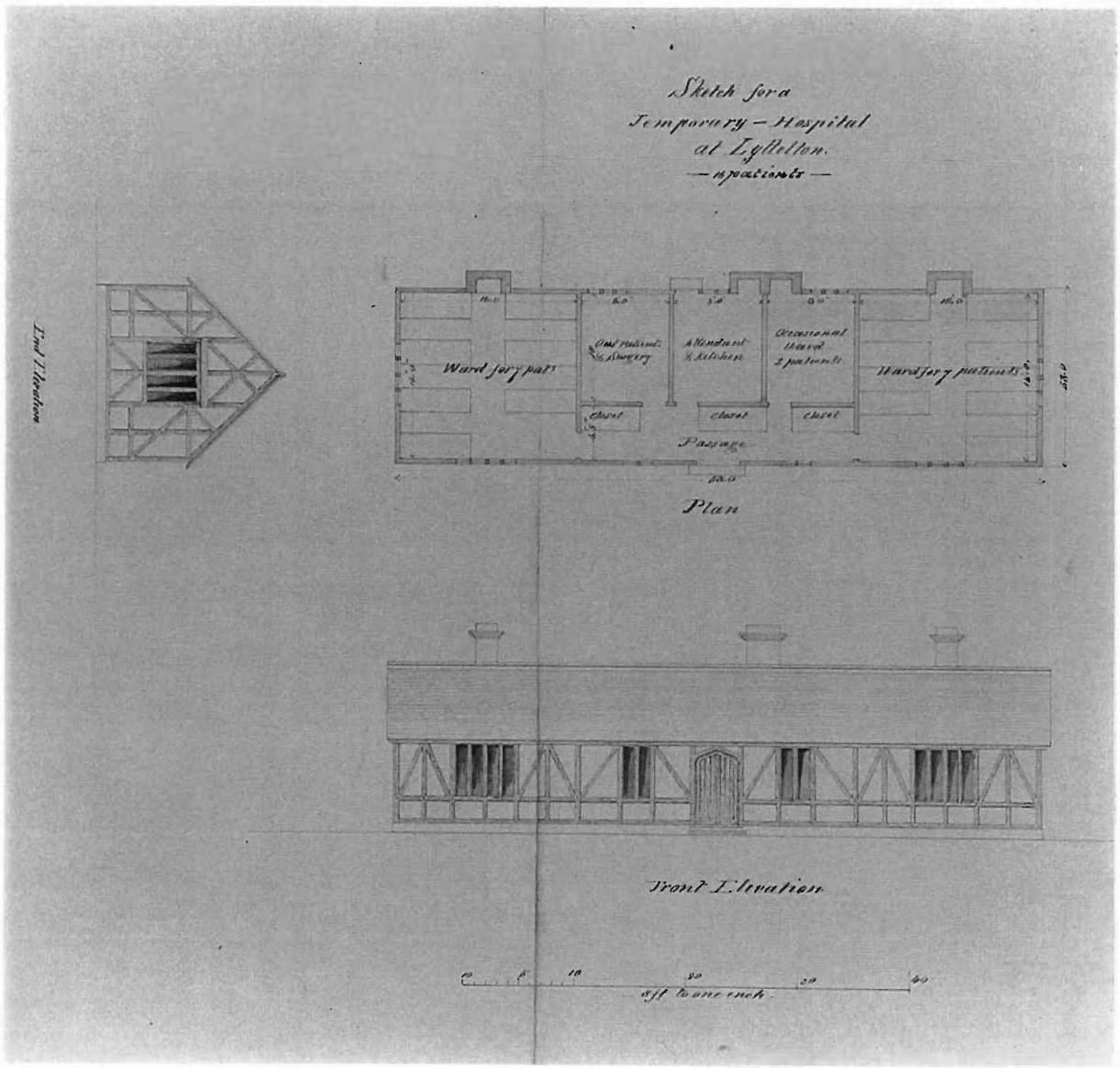
17. T. Fitzgerald, Wellington Colonial Hospital (1846-7). Sketch of building after 1848 earthquake.



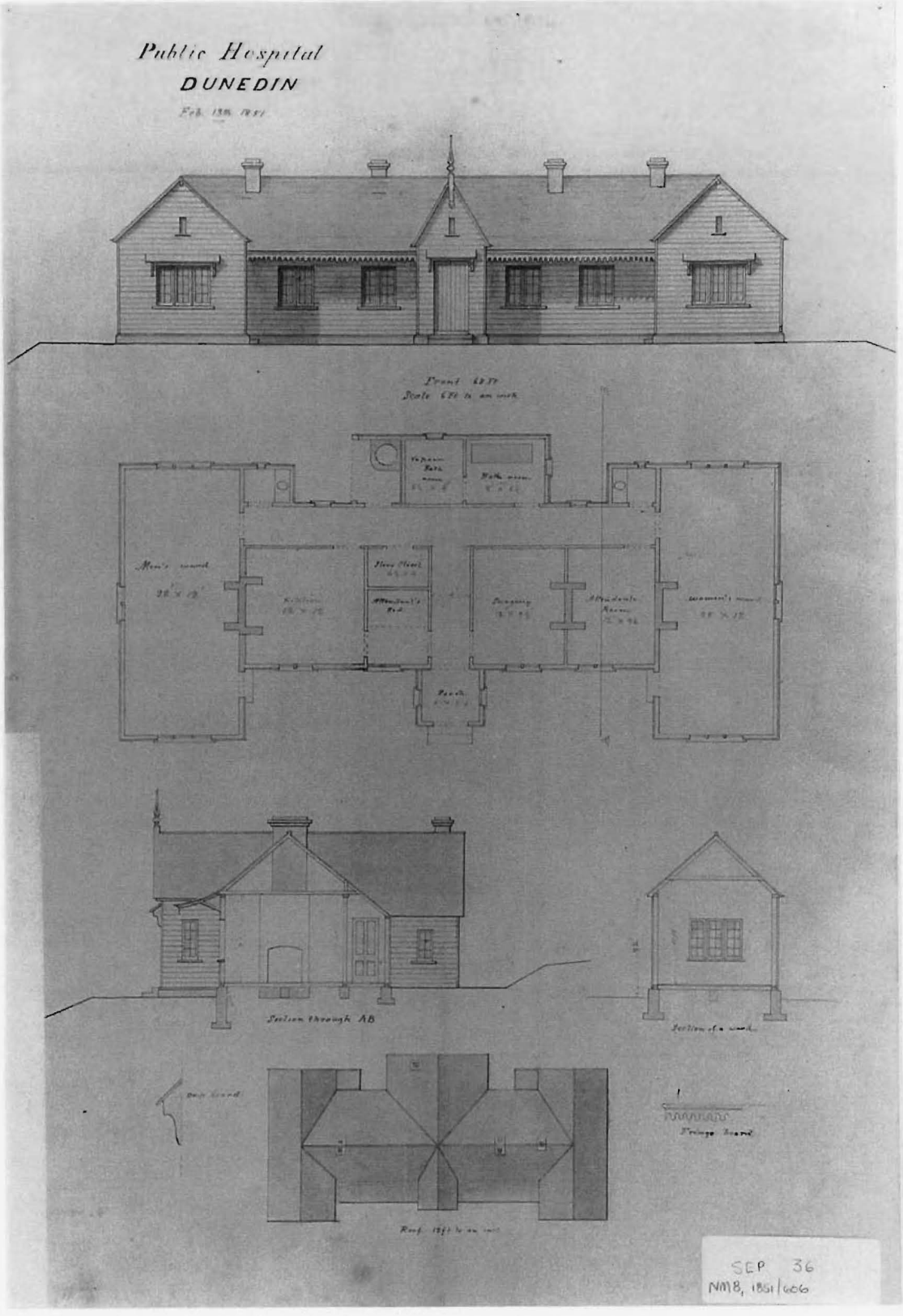
18. T. Fitzgerald, Wanganui Colonial Hospital, Floor Plans (1849, built 1849-50).



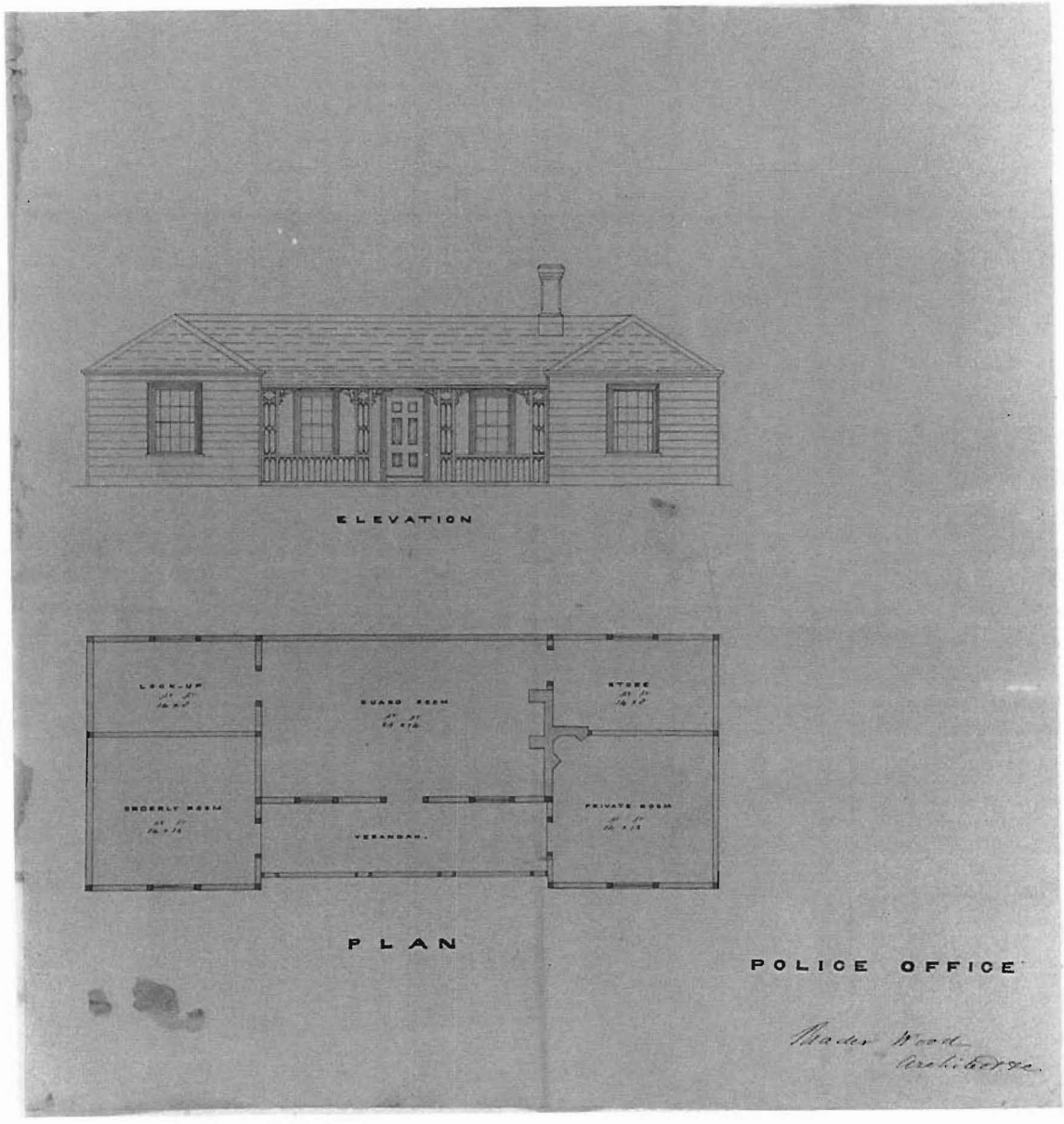
19. T. Fitzgerald, Wanganui Colonial Hospital (1849-50).



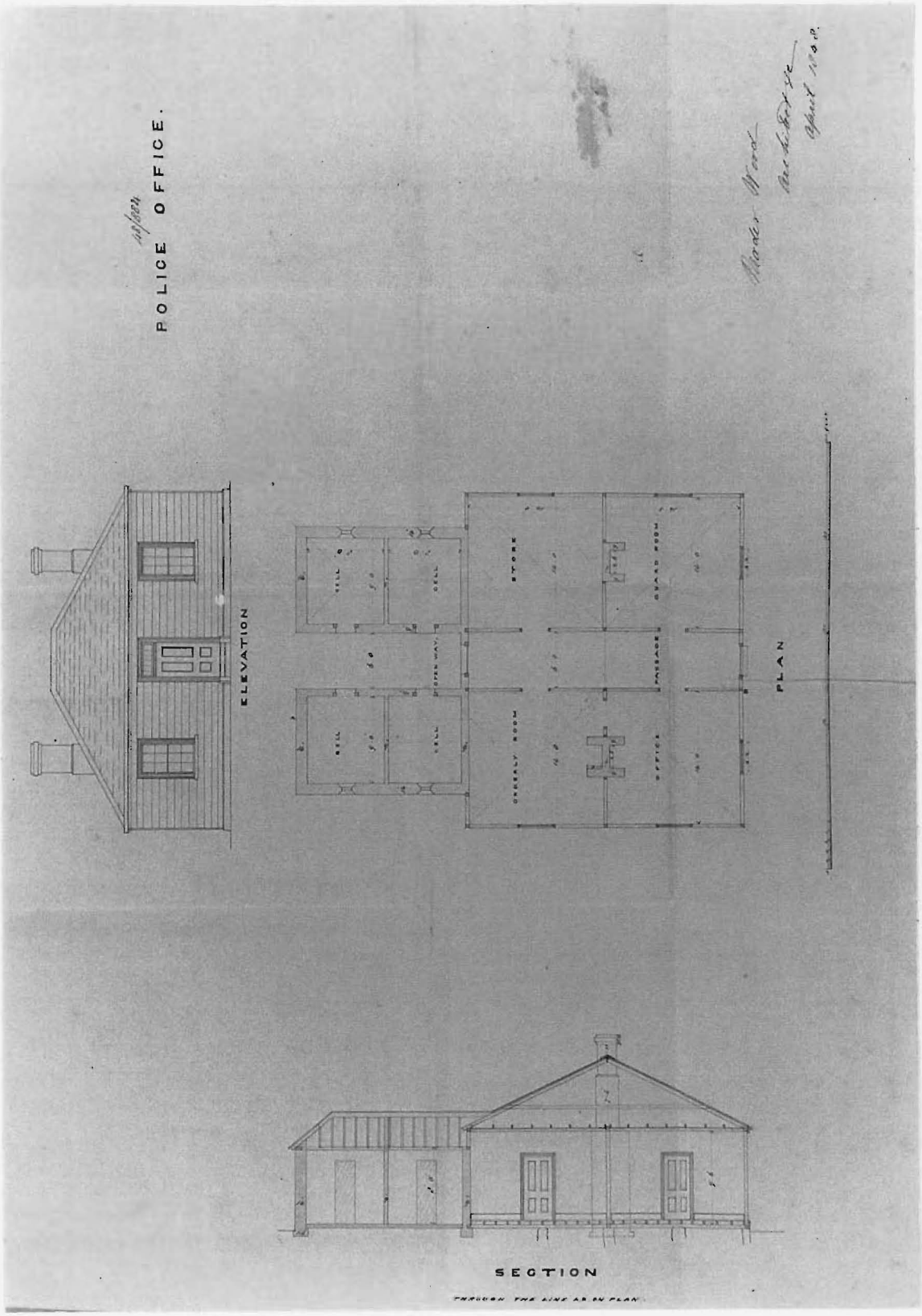
20. H. Cridland, Project for Lyttelton Public Hospital (1851).



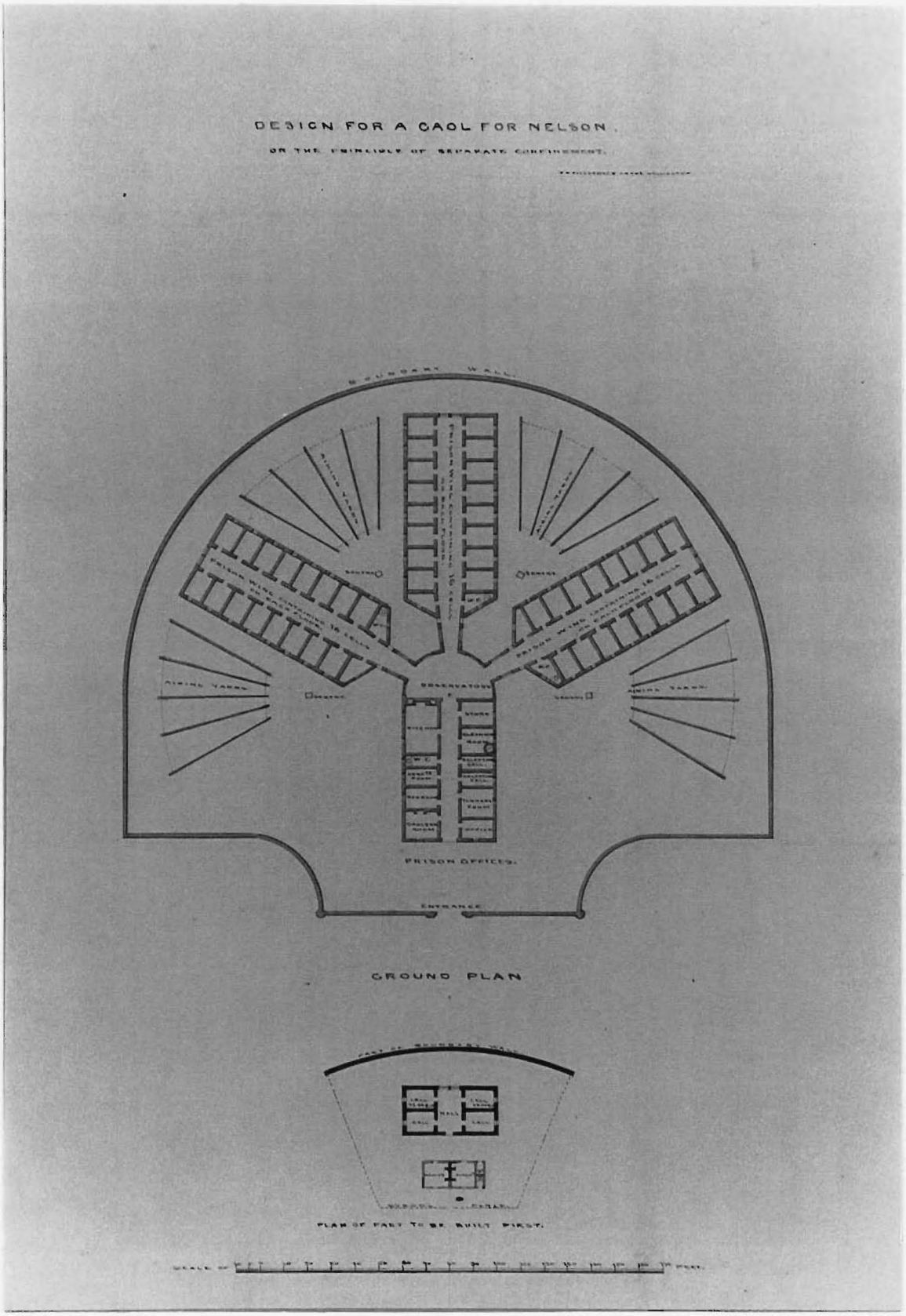
21. Clarke & Garvie, Project for Dunedin Public Hospital (1851).



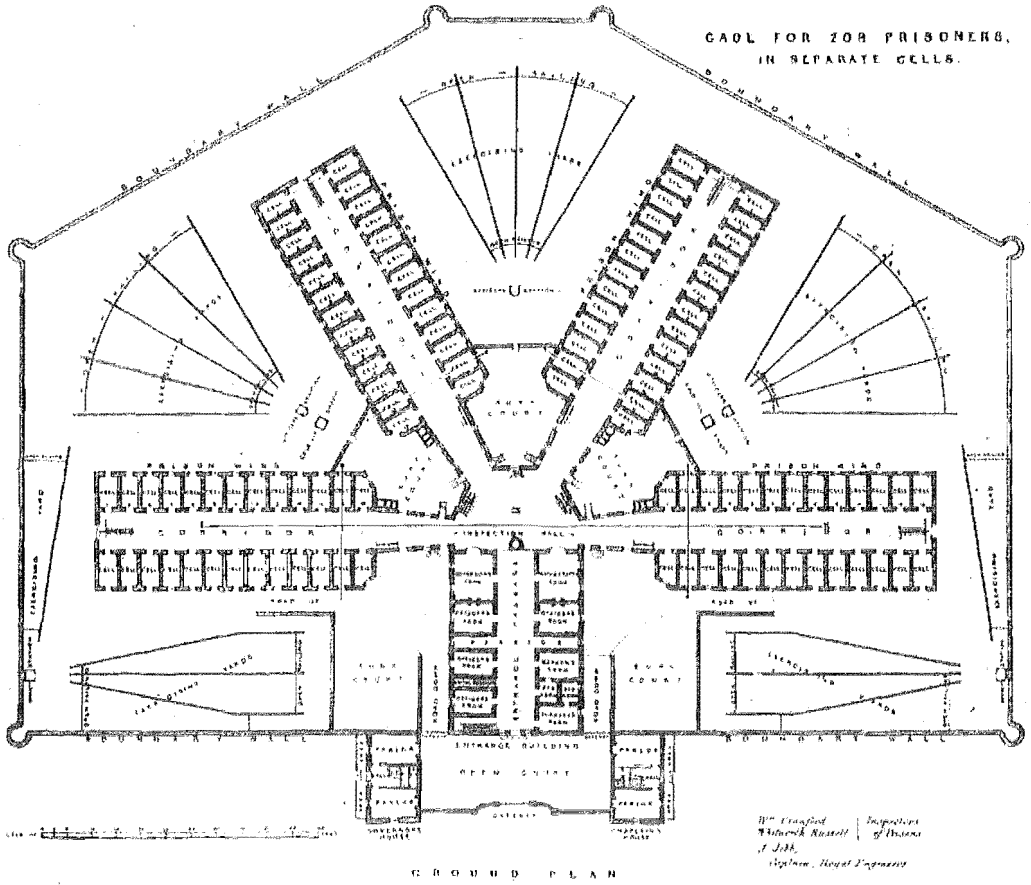
22. R. Wood, Project for Auckland Police Office (1848).



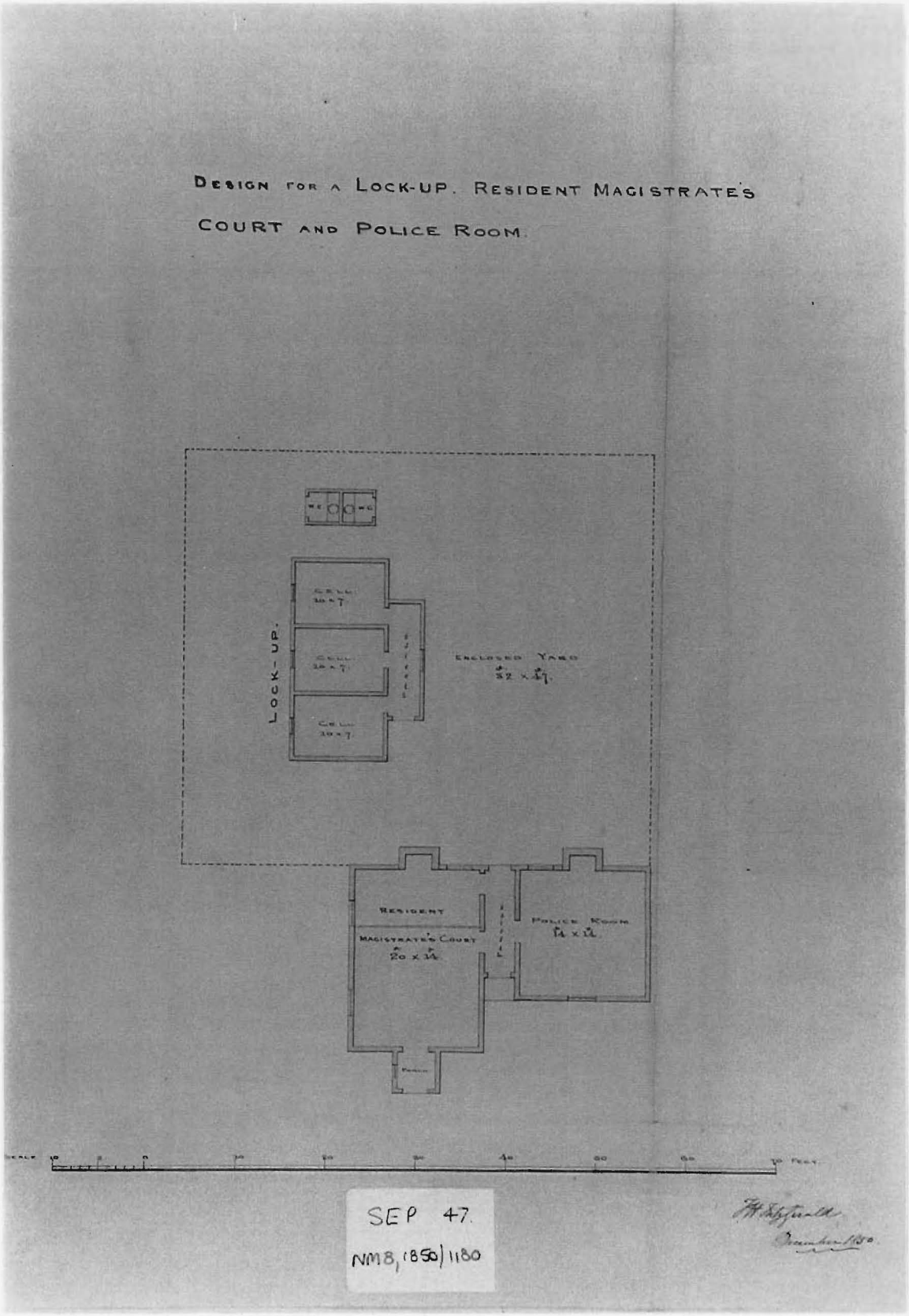
23. R. Wood, Revised project for Auckland Police Office (1848).



24. T. Fitzgerald, Project, Nelson Gaol (1846).

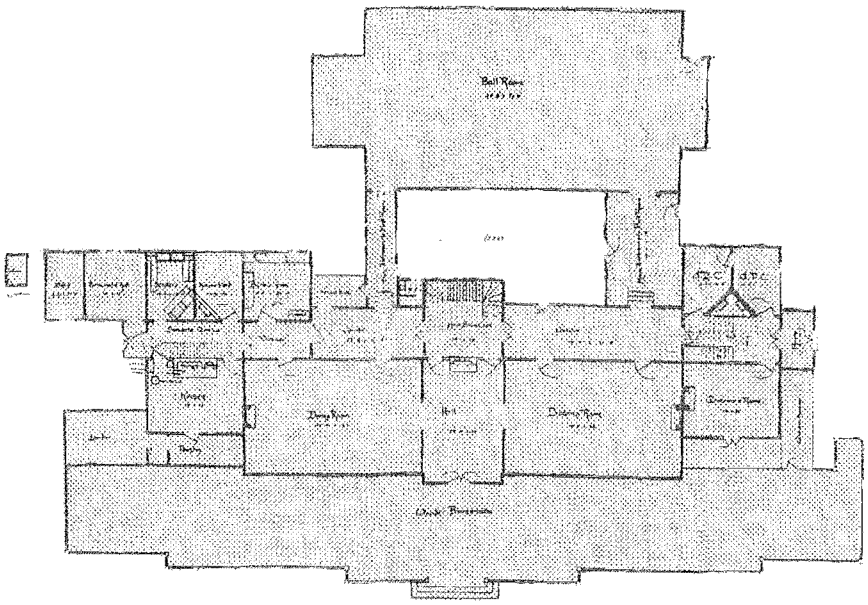


25. J. Jebb, Design for a Radial Prison (1838).

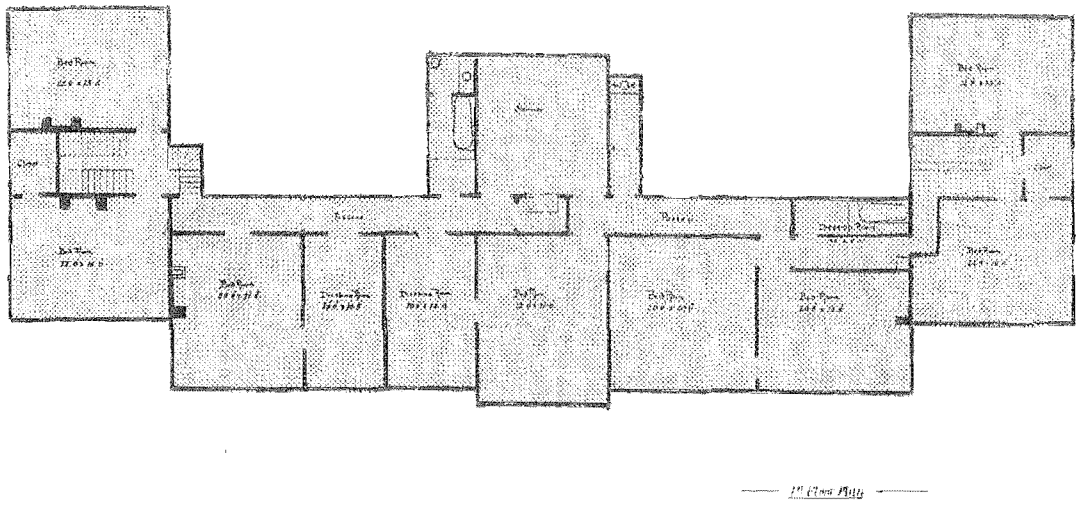


26. T. Fitzgerald, Floor Plan, Standard Design for Lock-up, Resident Magistrate's Court and Police Room (1850).

27. R. Wood, General Assembly House, Auckland (1854, with later additions).



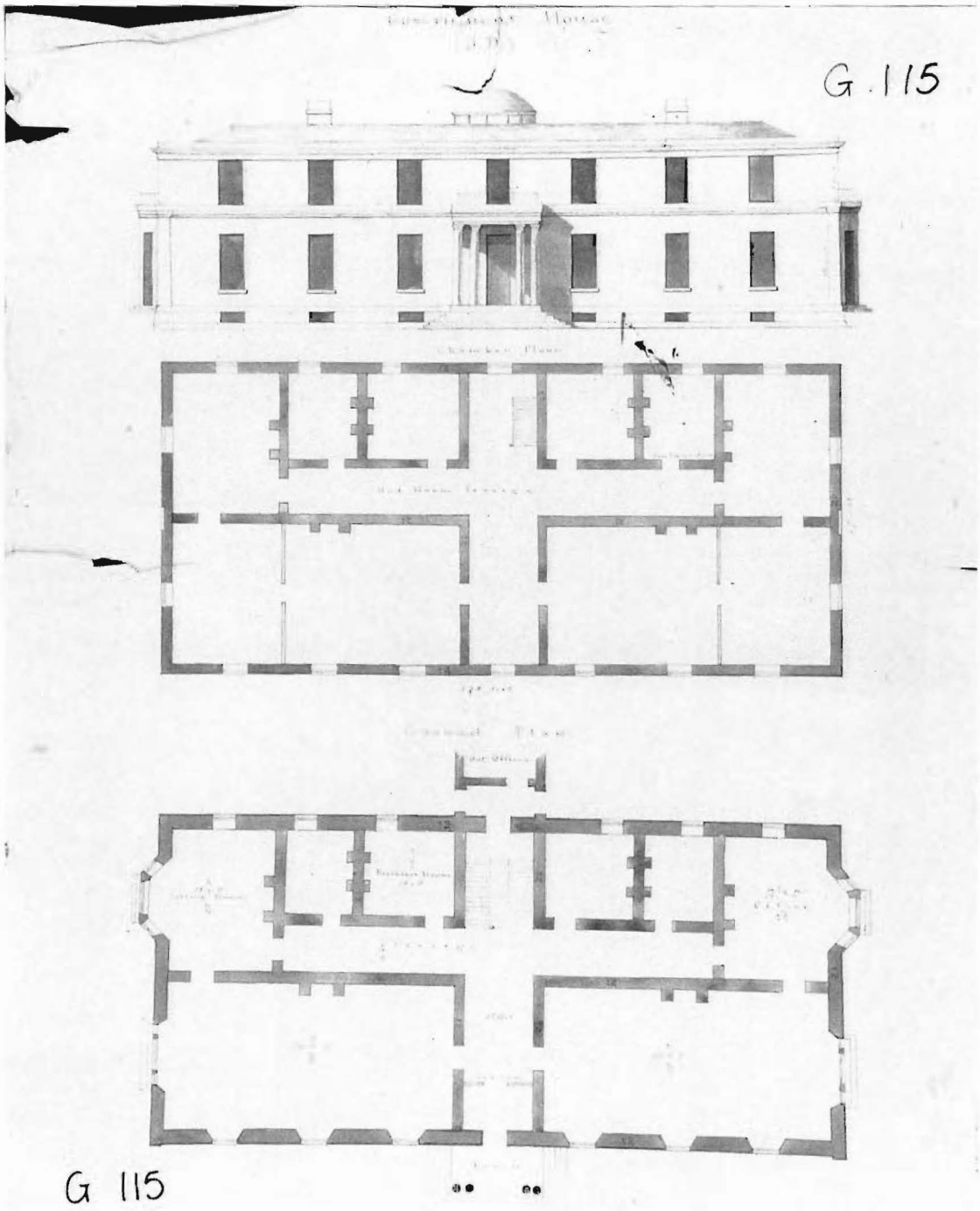
28. W. Mason, Ground Floor Plan, Government House, Auckland (1855-6).



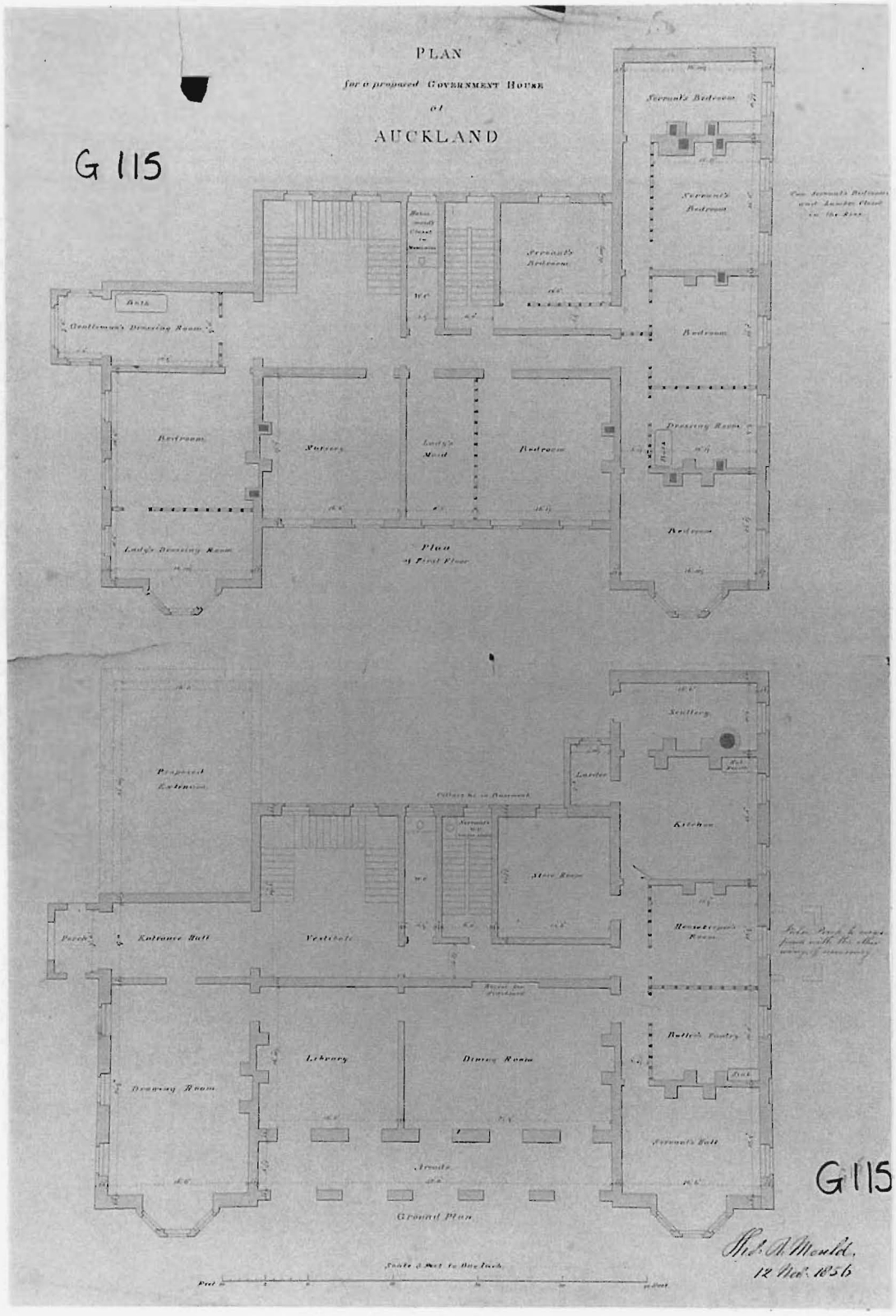
29. W. Mason, First Floor Plan, Government House, Auckland (1855-6).

(Not to scale.)

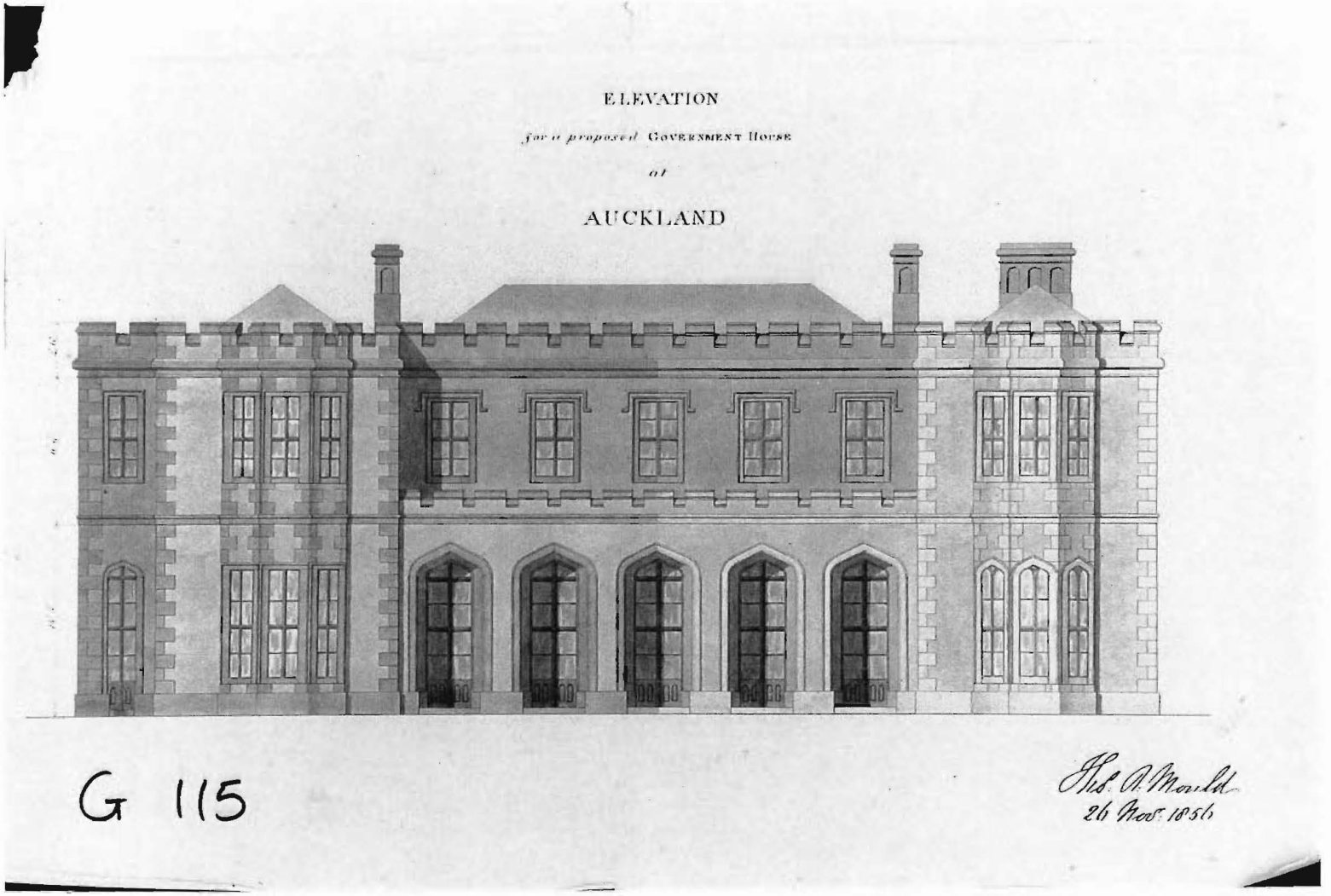
30. W. Mason, Government House, Auckland (1855-6).



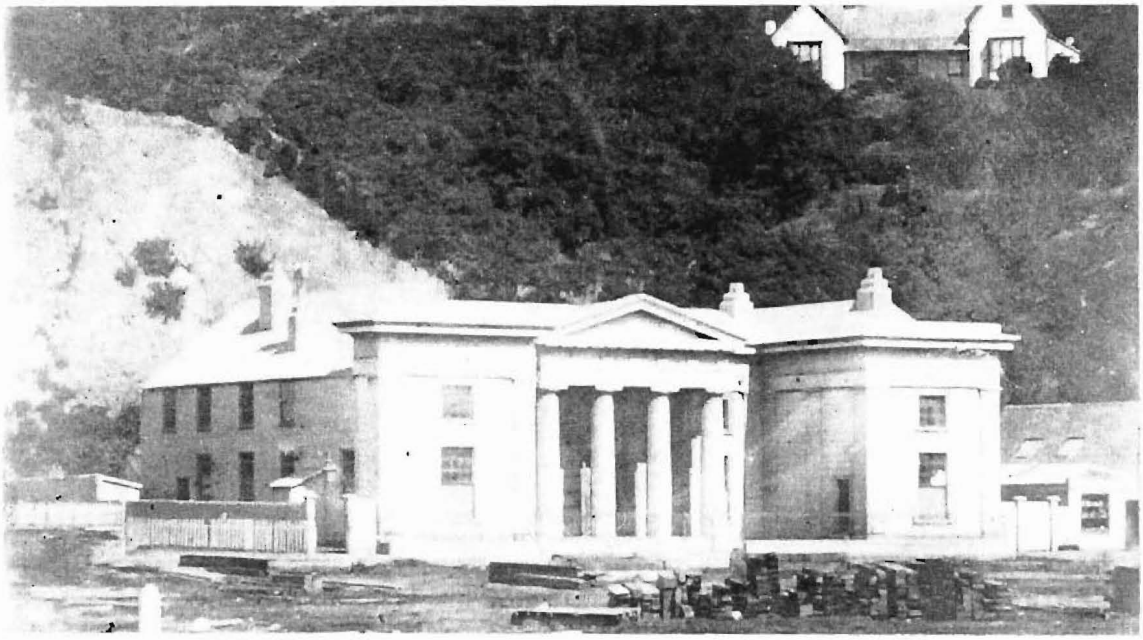
31. T. Mould, Classical Project, Government House, Auckland (1856).



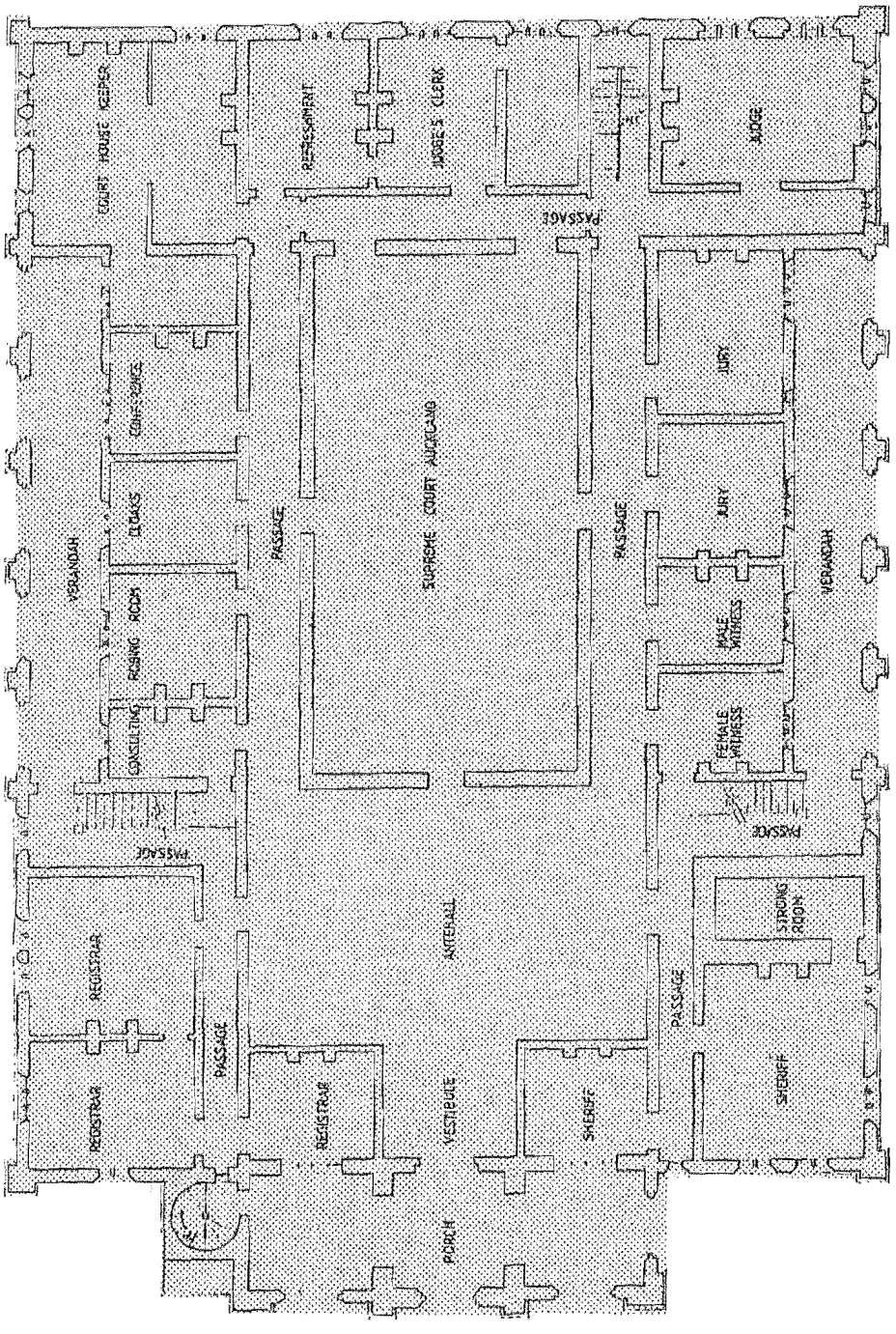
32. T. Mould, Floor Plans, Gothic Project, Government House, Auckland (1856).



33. T. Mould, Elevation, Gothic Project, Government House, Auckland (1856).



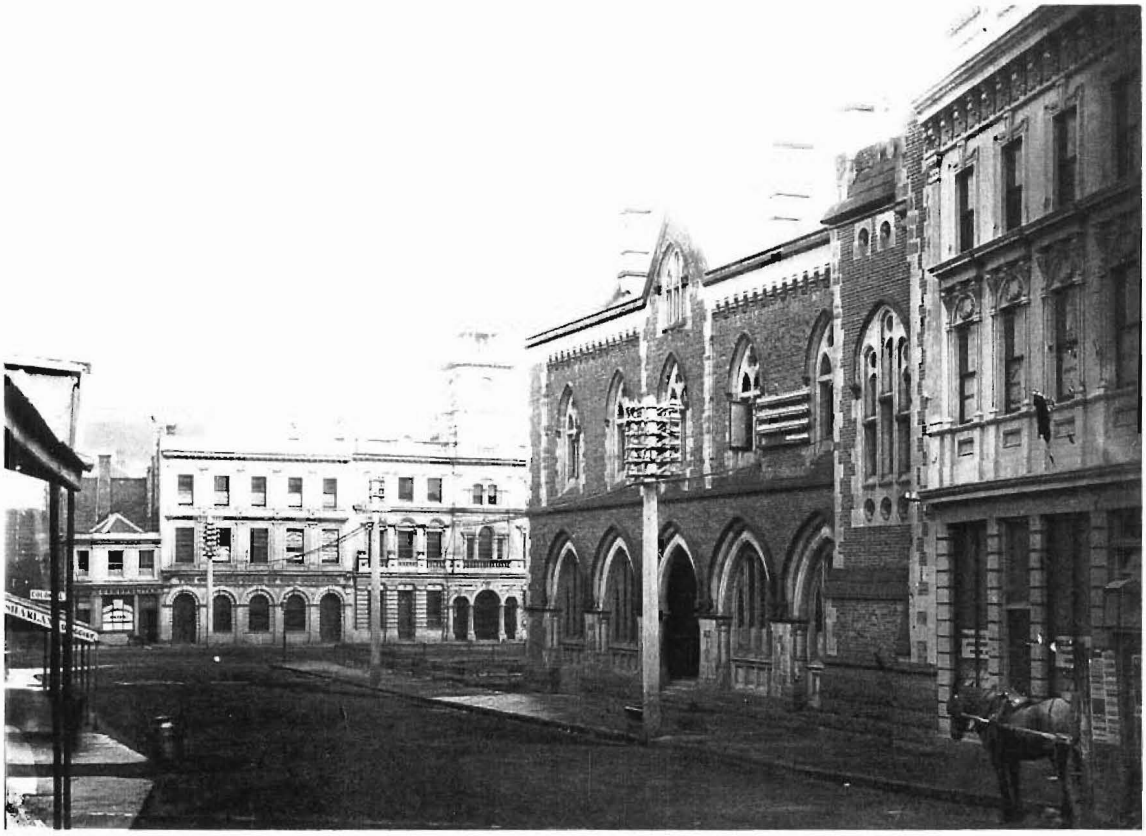
34. C. R. Carter, Wellington Court House (1858).



35. 1865 Ground Floor Plan (Conjectural), Auckland Supreme Court House. Drawing by S. Irving.

36. E. Rumsey, Auckland Supreme Court House (built 1865-8).

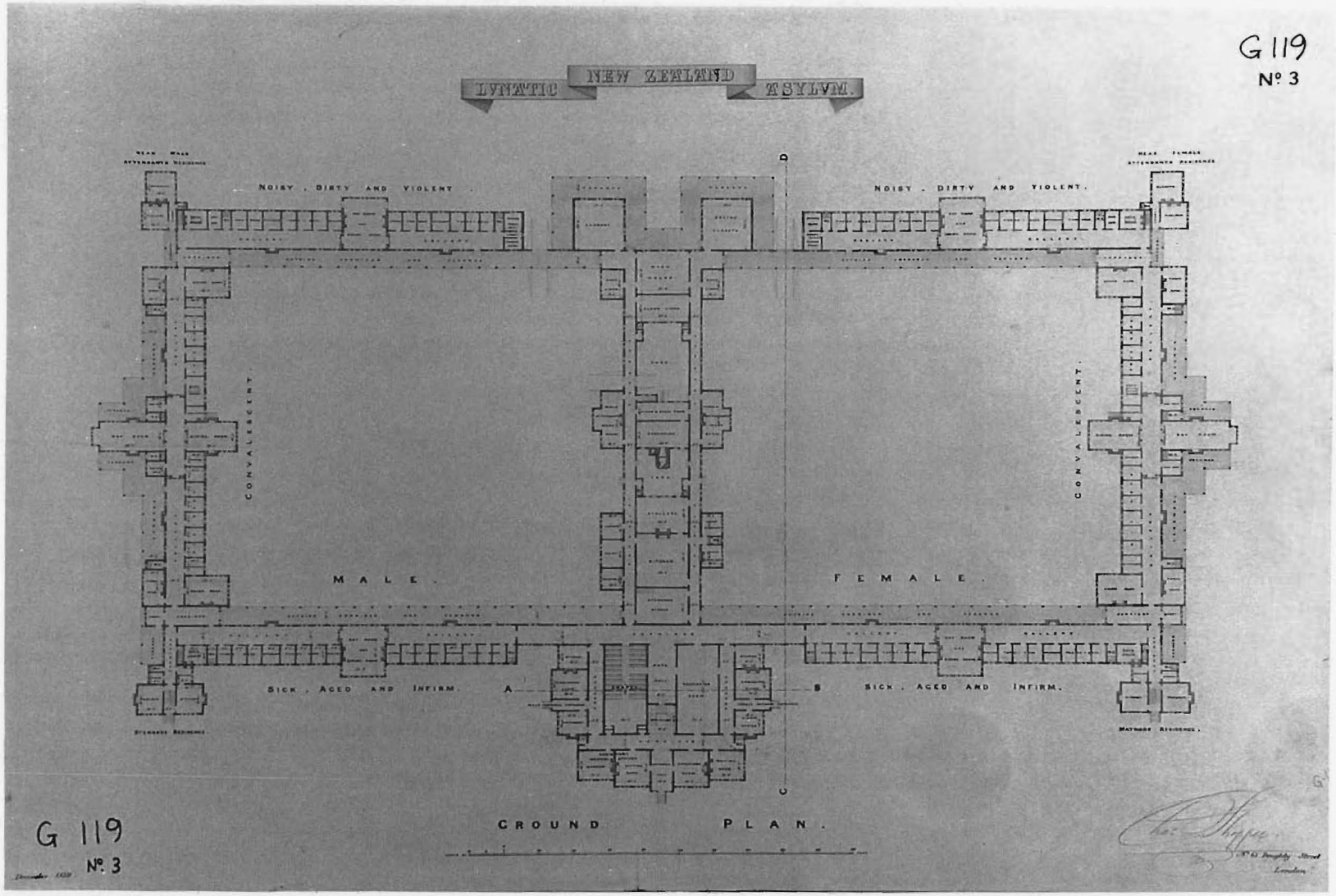
37. E. Rumsey, Perspective, Auckland Supreme Court House (1866).



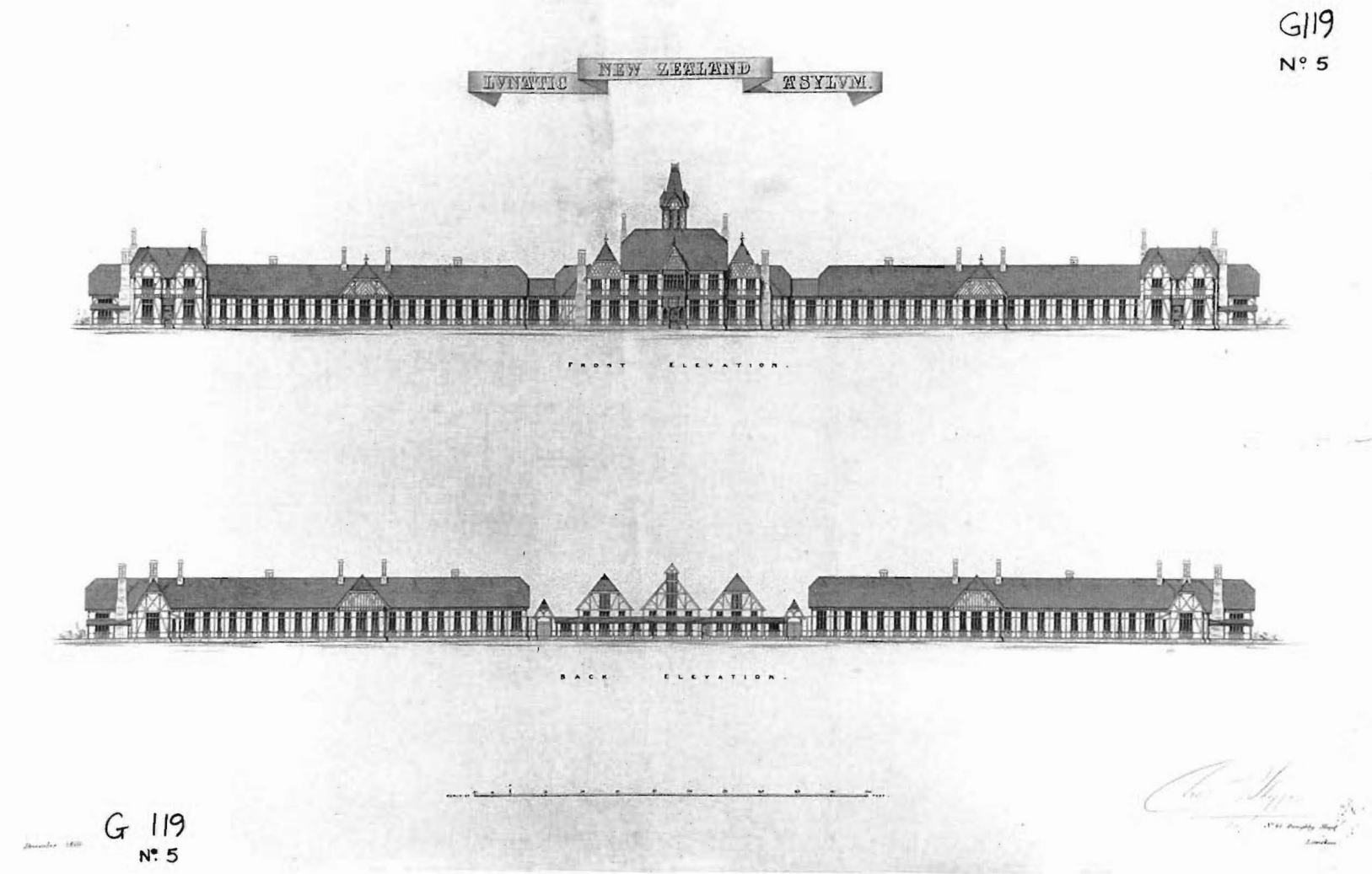
38. E. Rumsey, Auckland Post Office and Customs House, Shortland Street Elevation (1865-8).

39. W. Mason, Dunedin Post Office (1865-8).

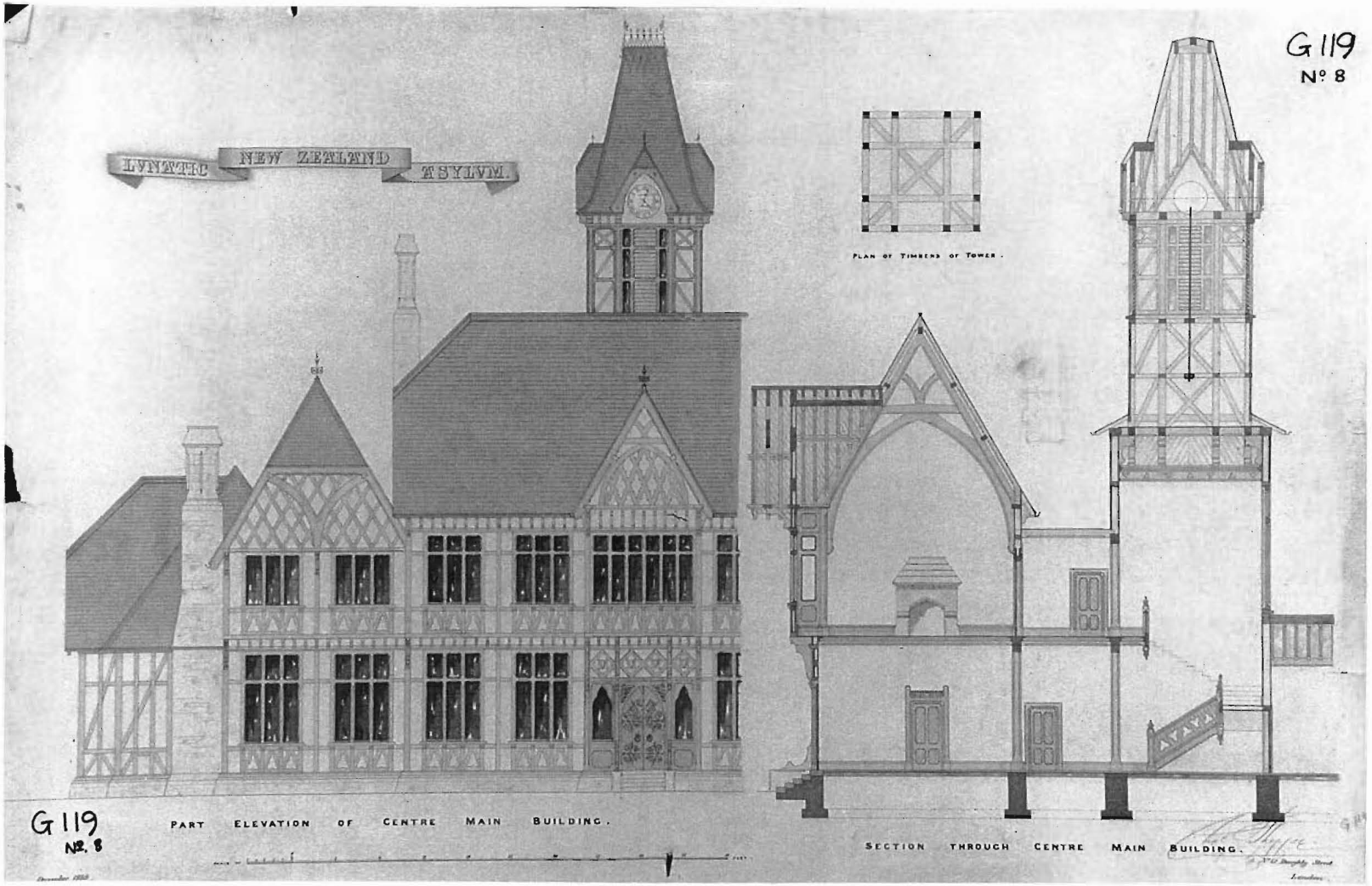
40. J. Rochfort, Nelson Post Office (1864).



41. C. J. Shoppee, Ground Floor Plan, New Zealand Lunatic Asylum Project (1859).

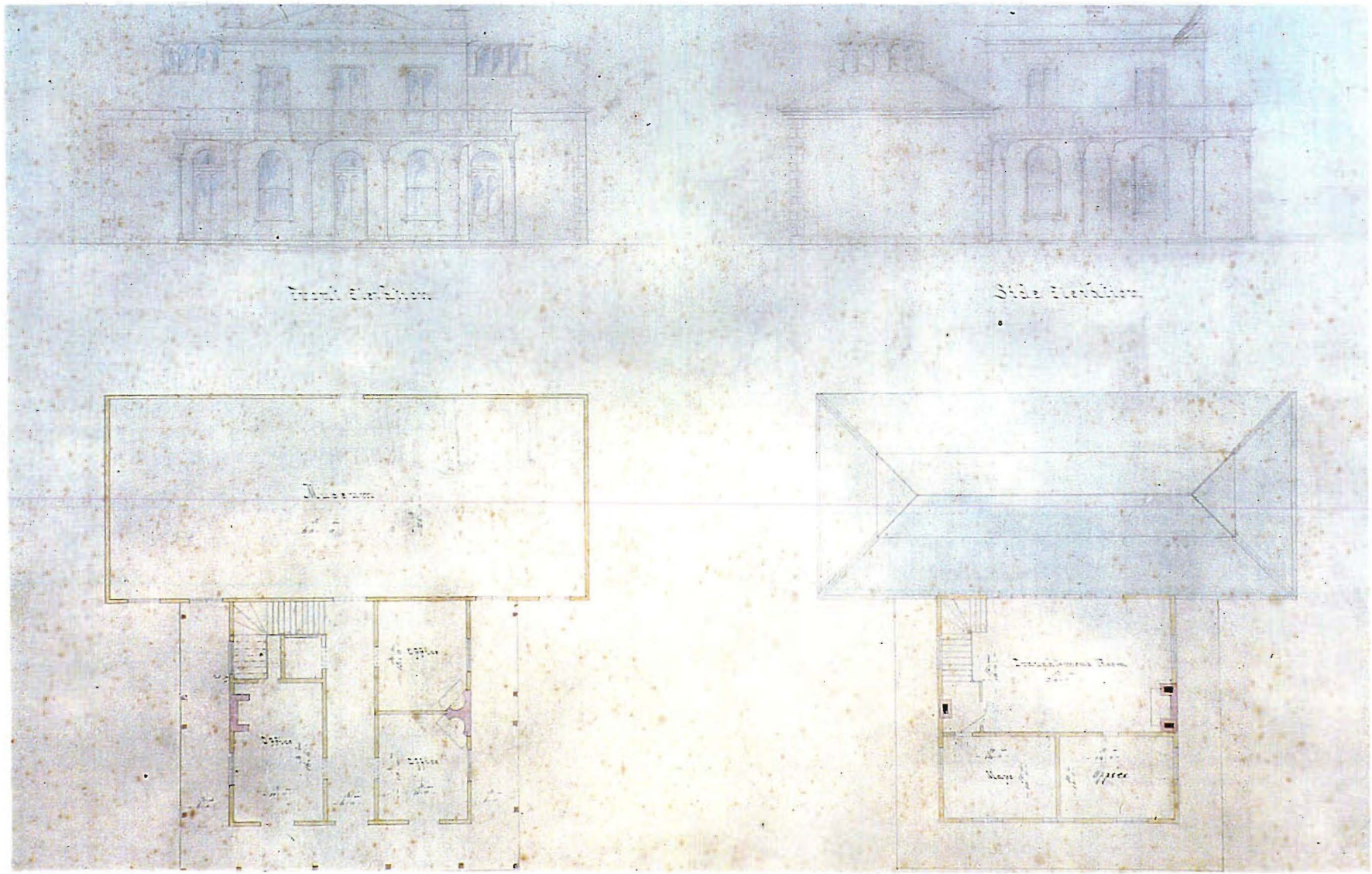


42. C. J. Shoppee, Front and Back Elevation, New Zealand Lunatic Asylum Project (1859).

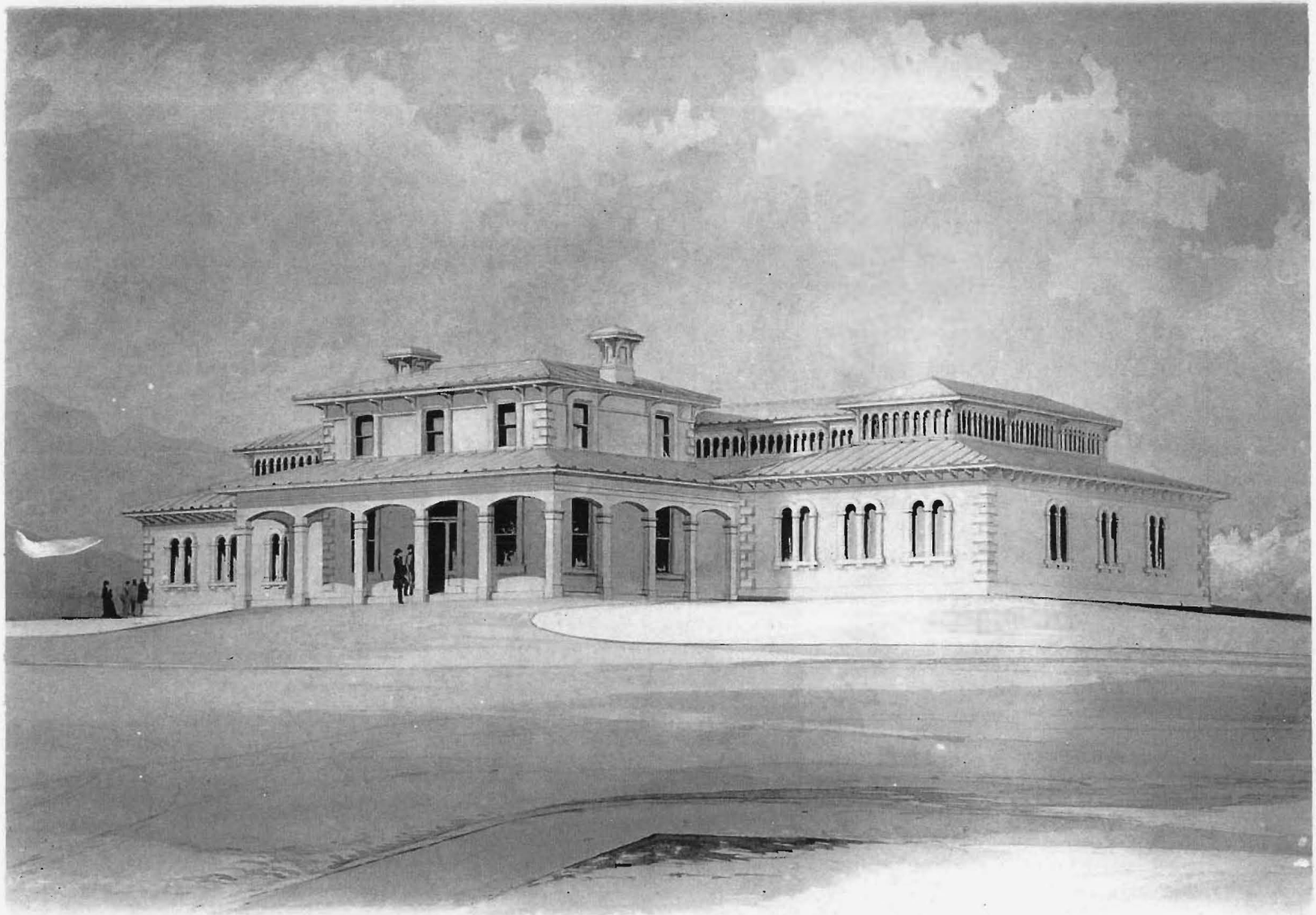


43. C. J. Shoppee, Elevation and Section, New Zealand Lunatic Asylum Project (1859).

44. W. H. Clayton, Oamaru Post Office (1864).

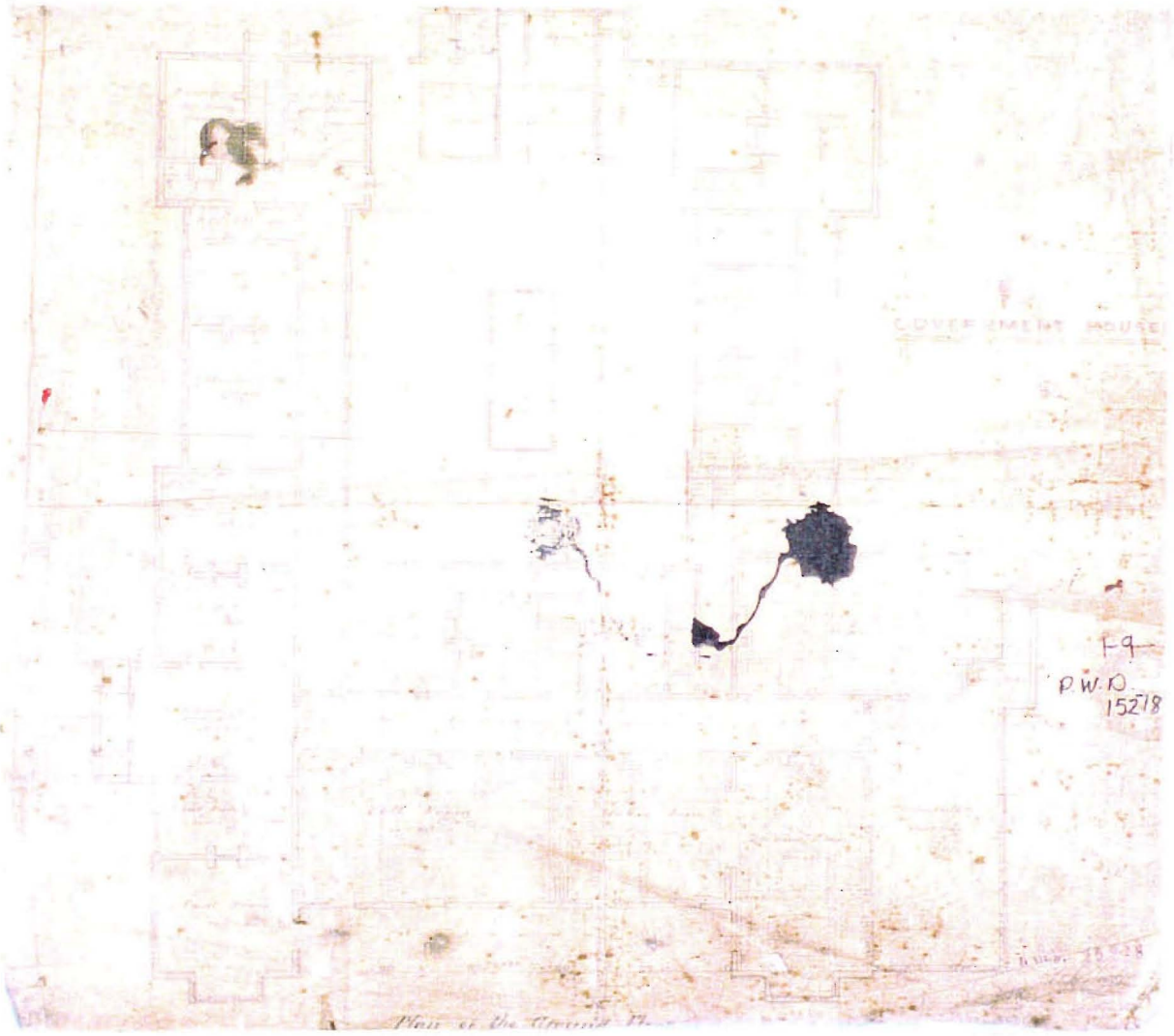


45. T. Forrester, Project for Geological Museum (c. 1864).



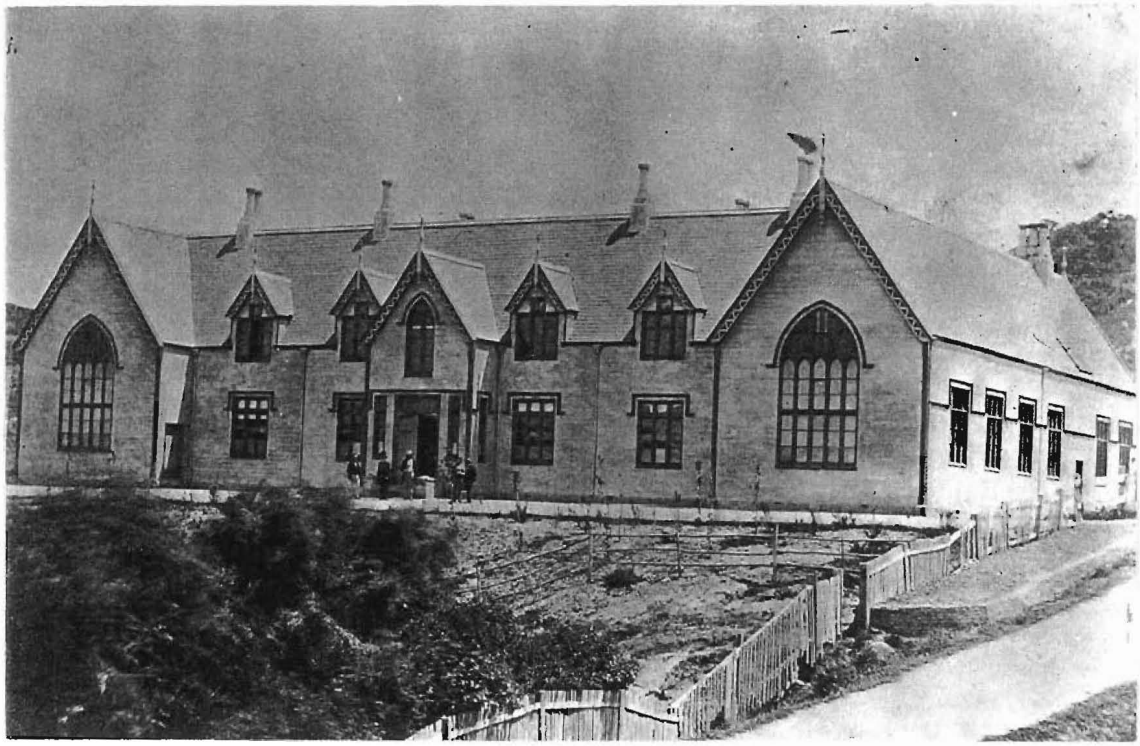
46. Mason & Clayton, Proposed Colonial Museum, Wellington, Perspective by George O'Brien (1865).

47. W. H. Clayton, Government House, Wellington (1868-71).

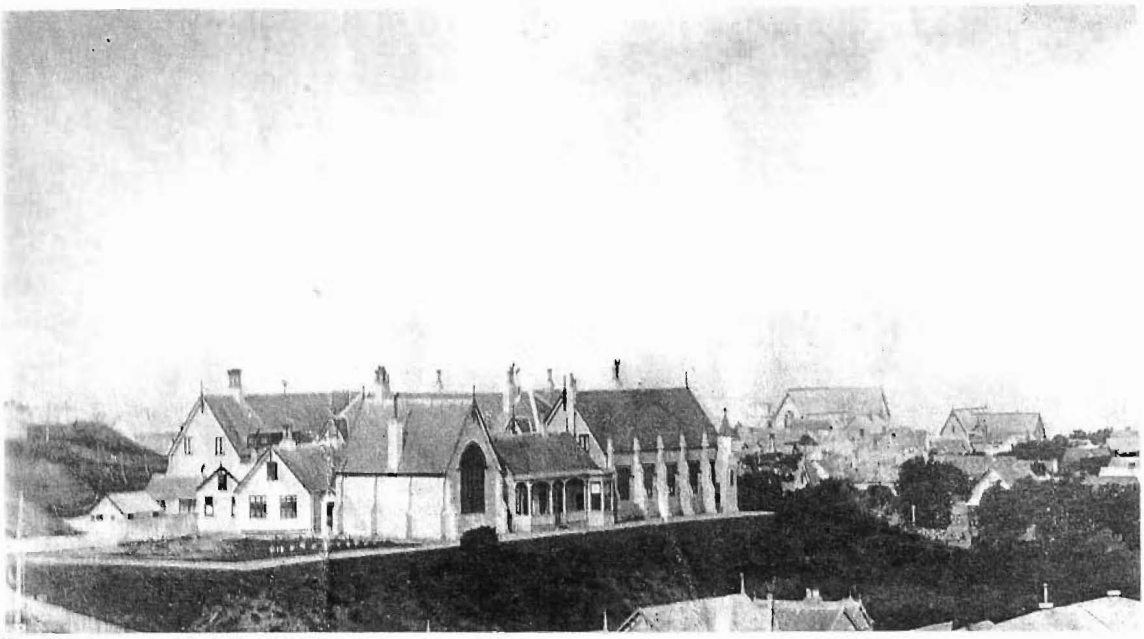


48. W. H. Clayton, Ground Floor Plan, Government House, Wellington (1868).

49. W. H. Clayton, Government House Stables, Wellington (built 1869-70).



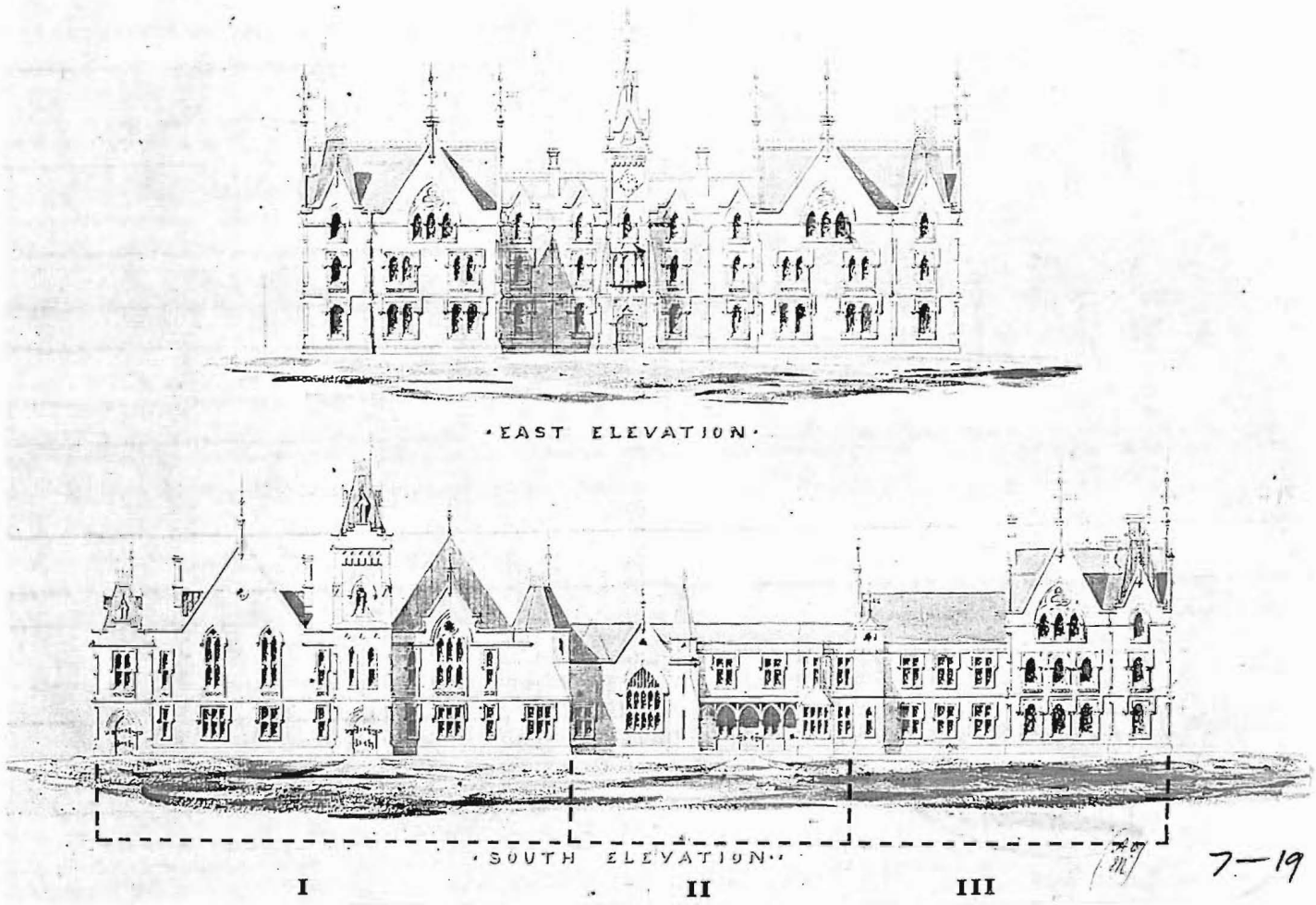
50. G. Single, East Elevation, Wellington Provincial Government Buildings (1857). (Later appropropriated as Parliamentary Buildings.)



51. G. Single & others, West and South Elevations, Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington (c. 1868).

52a. W. H. Clayton,
Project for East Elevation,
Parliamentary Buildings,
Wellington (1870).

52b. W. H. Clayton,
Project for South Elevation,
Parliamentary Buildings,
Wellington
(based on a project by E. Rumsey)
(1870).

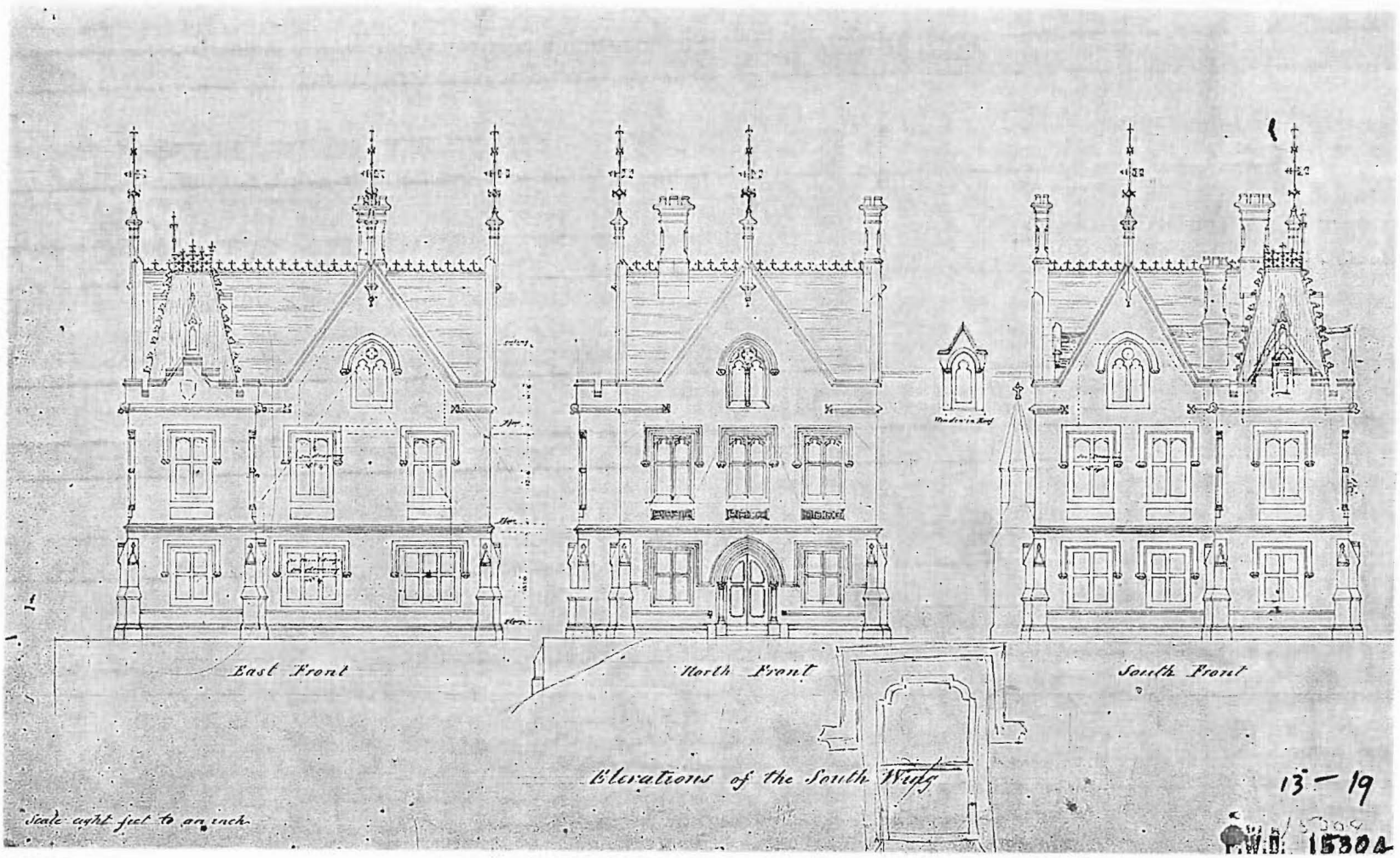


Key

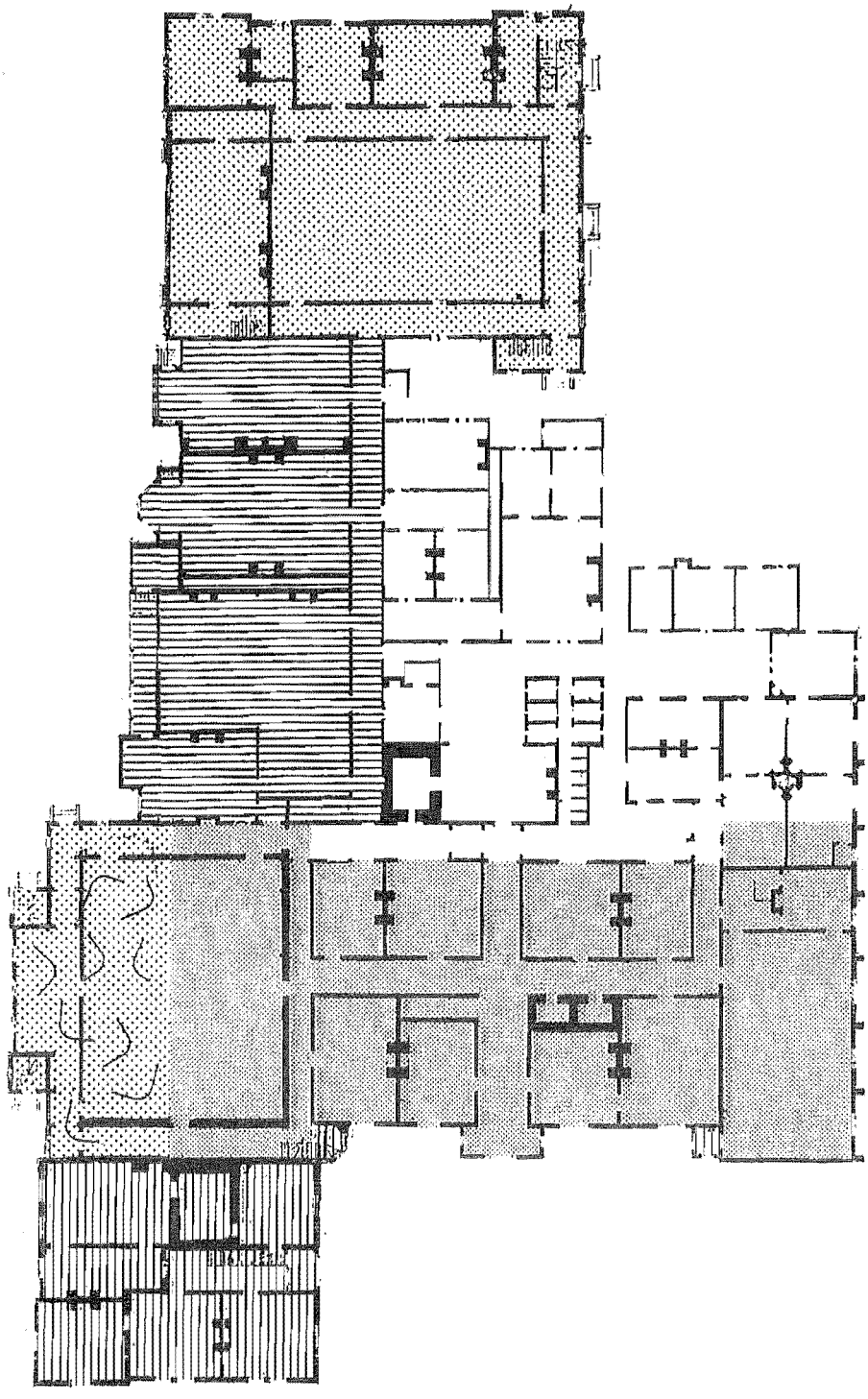
I E. Rumsey, Proposed additions as redraughted by Clayton.

II E. Rumsey, Additions and alterations (built 1868).

III W. H. Clayton, Proposed additions to replace the former Provincial Government Buildings.



53. W. H. Clayton, Elevations of South Wing, Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington (1871).



Key

Approximate Floor Area of the former Provincial Government Buildings (1857).

Miscellaneous Additions to the former Provincial Government Buildings.

E. Rumsey, Additions and Alterations (1868).

W. H. Clayton, South Wing (1871).

W. H. Clayton, Extensions to the House of Representatives (1872-3).

W. H. Clayton, Legislative Council Chamber (1872-3).

54. W. H. Clayton, First Floor Plan, Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington (1872-3).

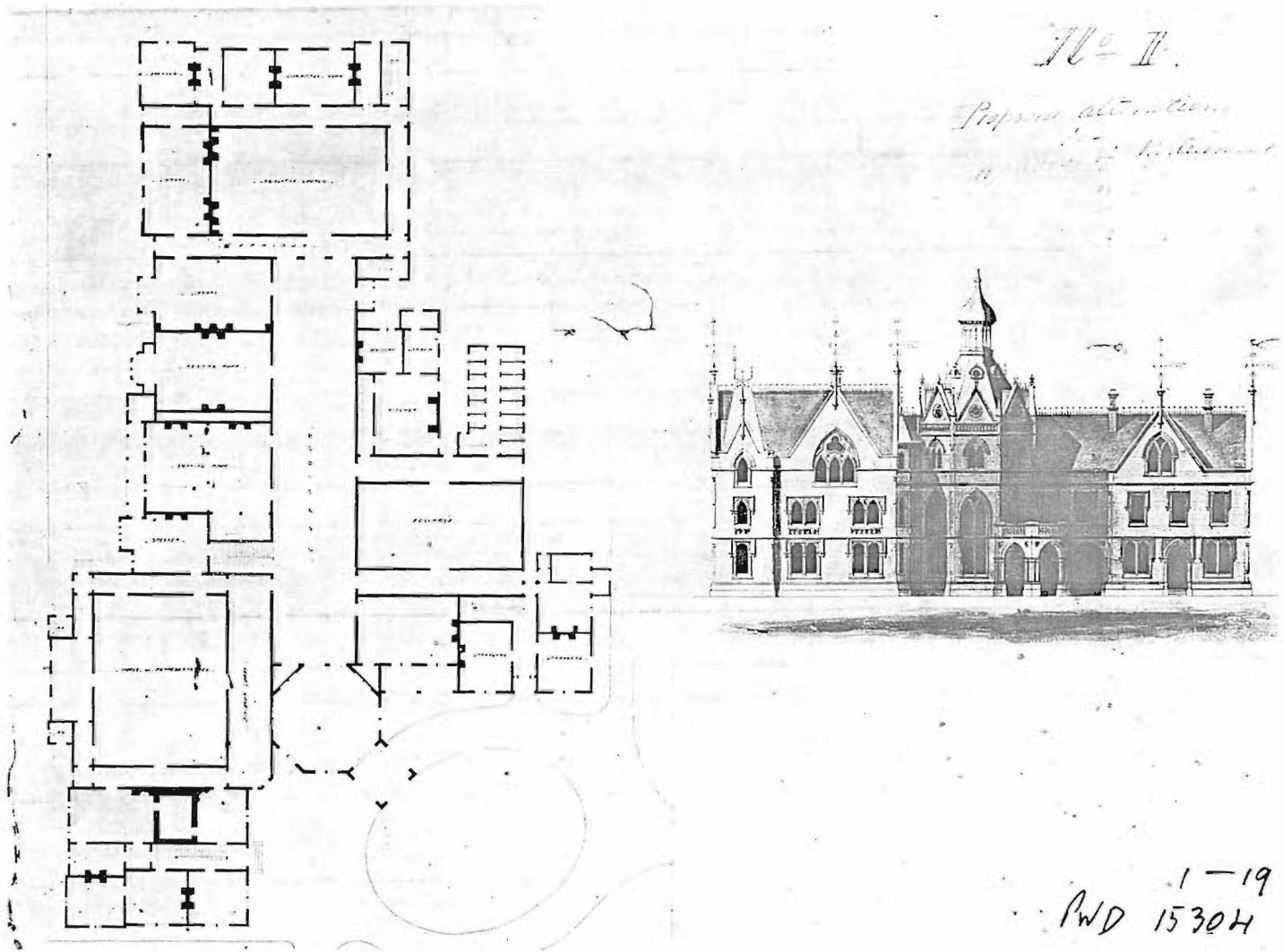
Key

I W. H. Clayton, Legislative Council Chamber (1872-3).

II E. Rumsey, Additions & Alterations (1868).

III W. H. Clayton, Extensions to House of Representatives (1872-3) & South Wing (1871).

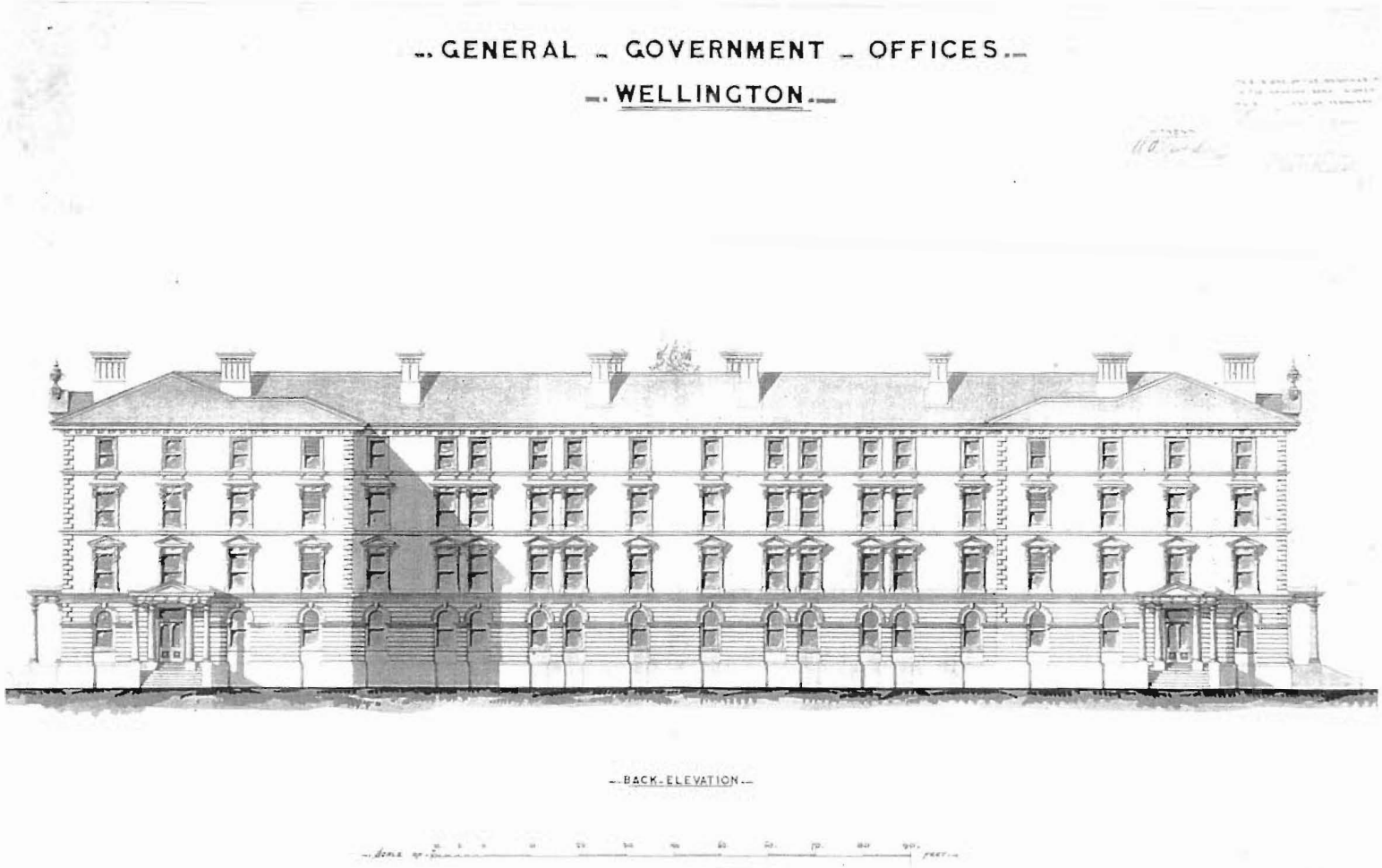
55. W. H. Clayton & E. Rumsey, View of South Elevation Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington (c. 1873).



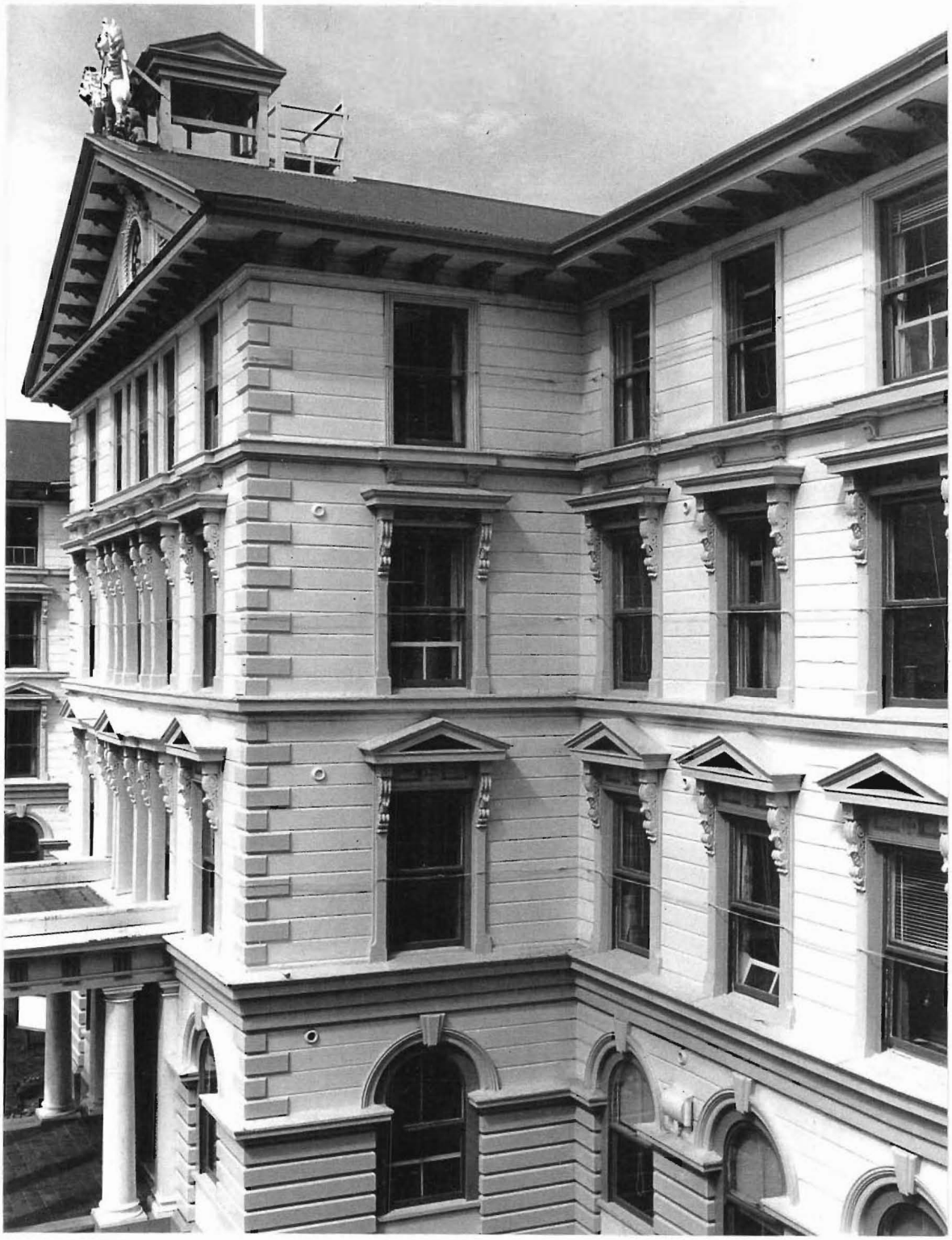
56. W. H. Clayton, Project for new First Floor Plan & East Elevation, Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington (c. 1873).

57. W. H. Clayton, Perspective, General Government Offices, Wellington (c. 1873).

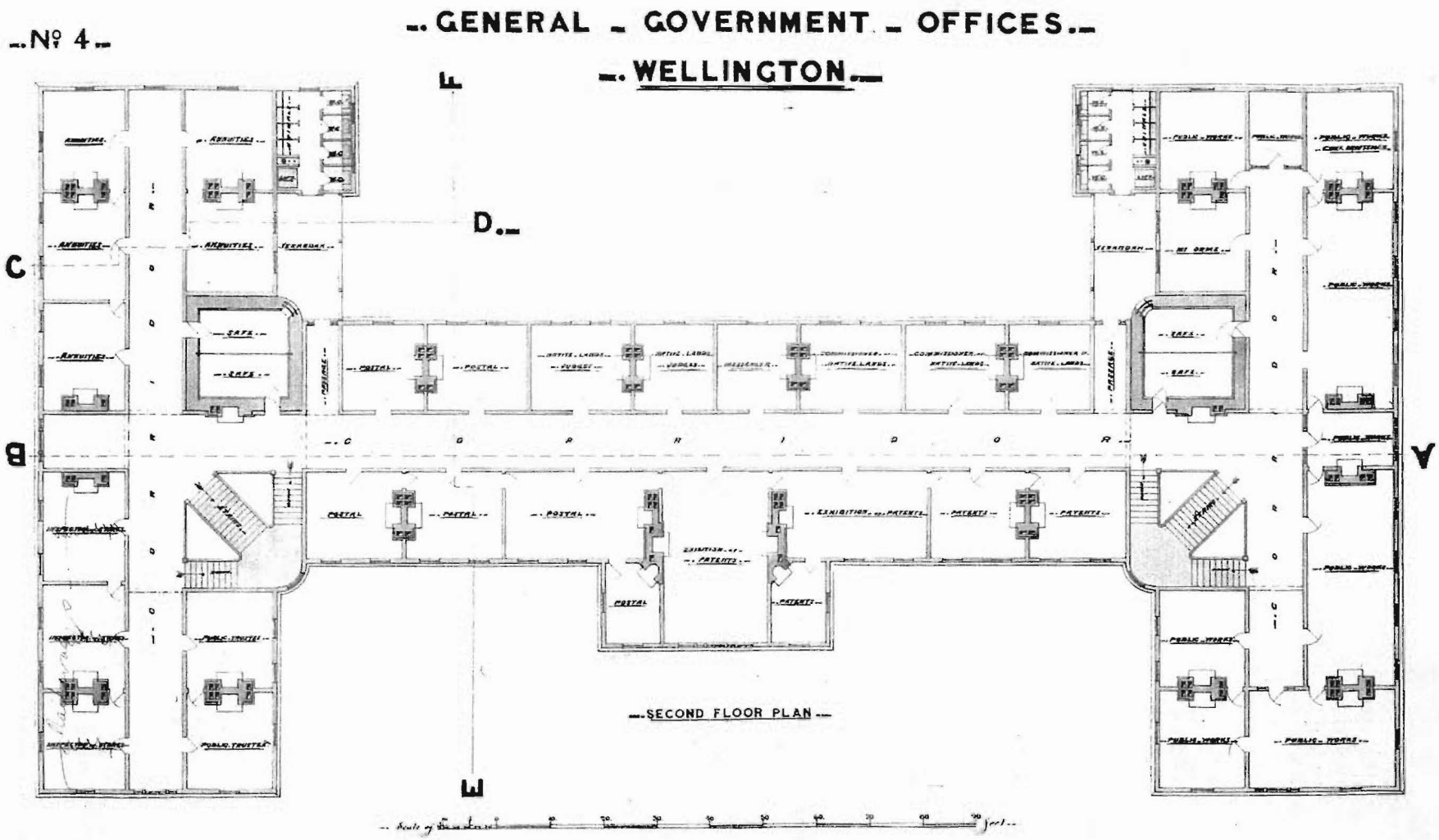
58. W. H. Clayton, Front Elevation, General Government Offices, Wellington (1875).



59. W. H. Clayton, Back Elevation, General Government Offices, Wellington (1875)



60. W. H. Clayton, Detail, Front Elevation, General Government Offices, Wellington (built 1875-6).

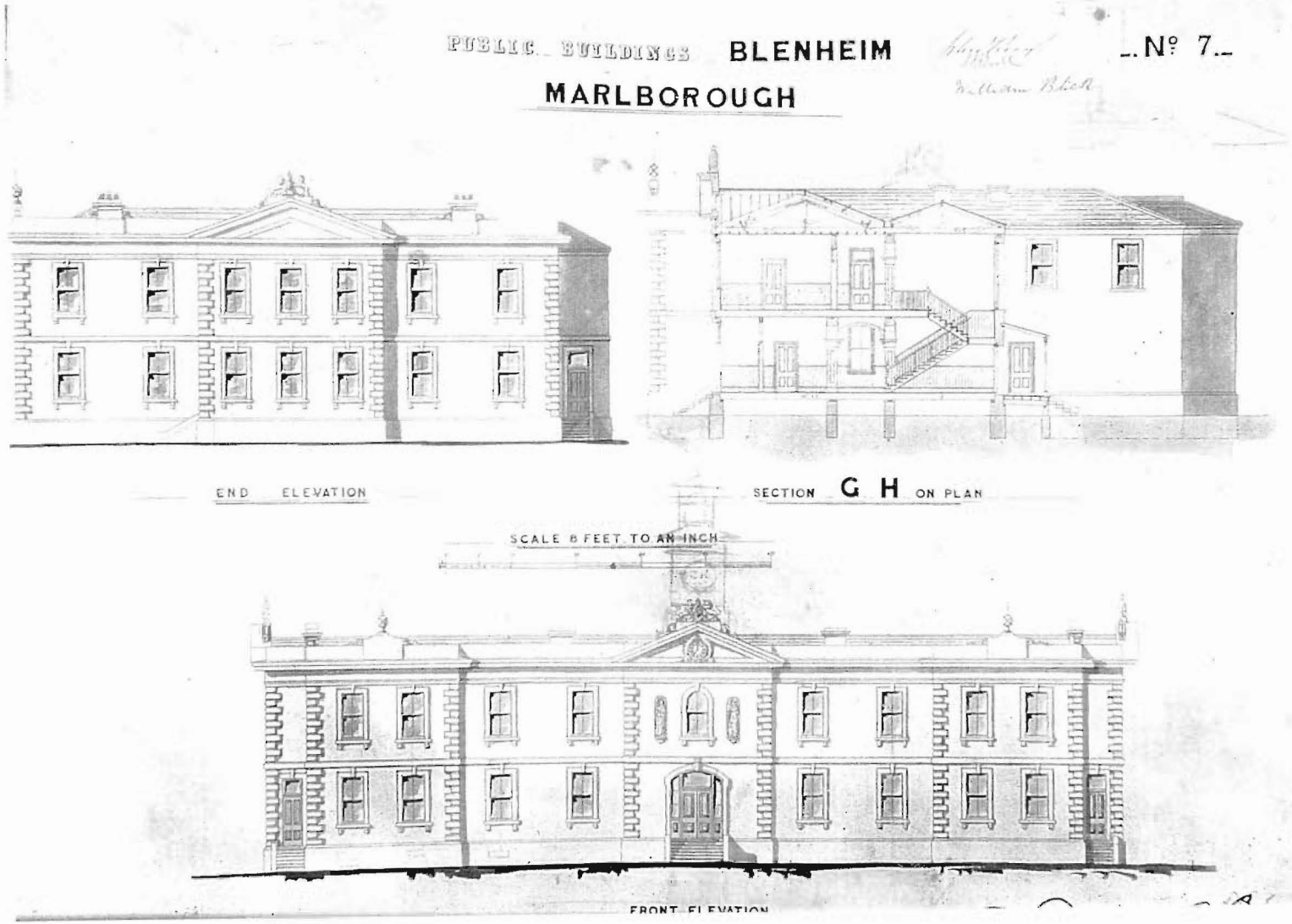


61. W. H. Clayton, Second Floor Plan, General Government Offices, Welllington (1876).

62. W. H. Clayton, Tauranga Government Buildings (1873-5).

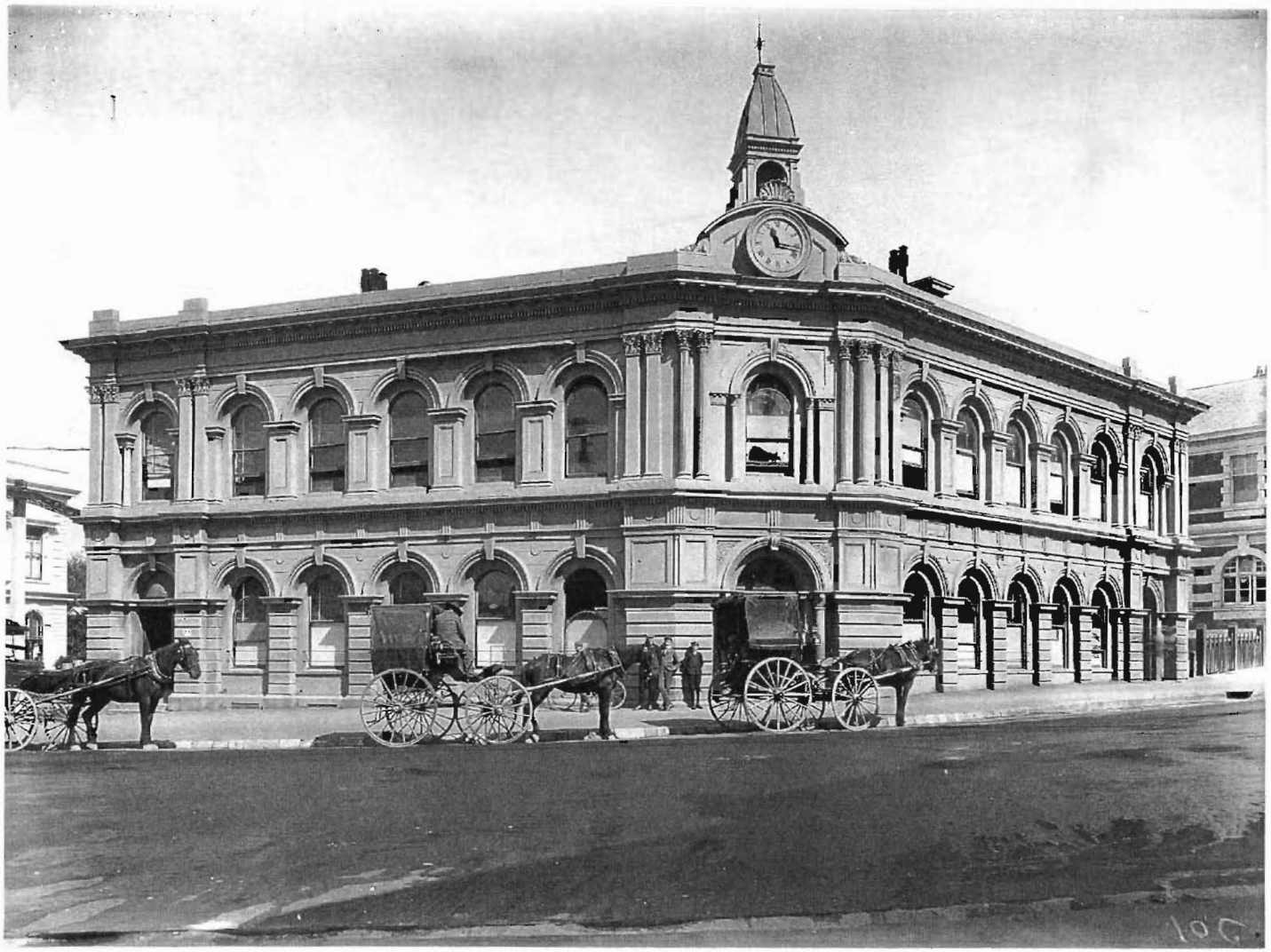
63. W. H. Clayton, Gisborne Government Buildings (1875).

64. W. H. Clayton, New Plymouth Government Buildings (1877-9).



65. W. H. Clayton, Blenheim Government Buildings (1877-8).

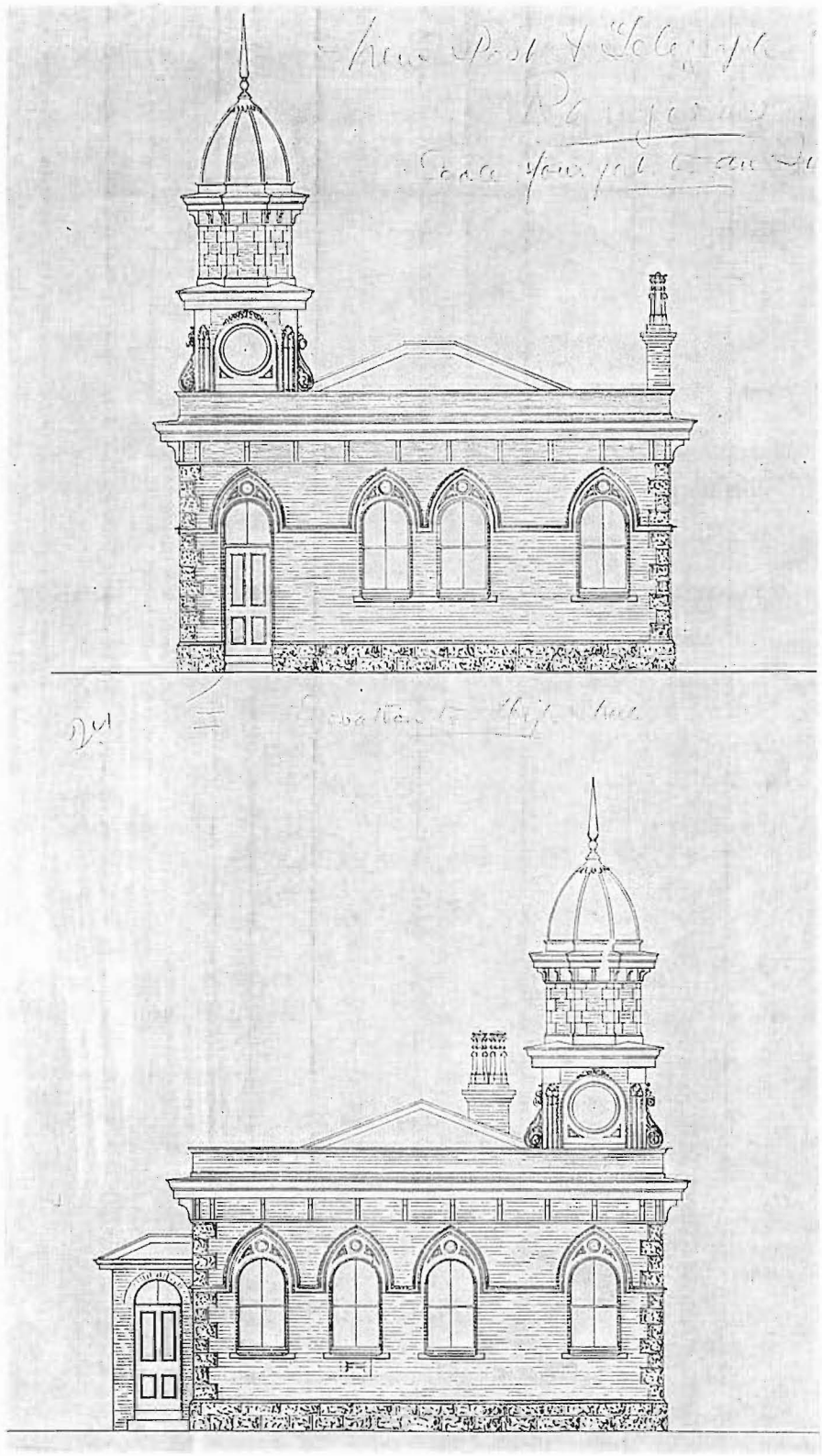
66. W. H. Clayton, Dunedin Telegraph Office (1875).



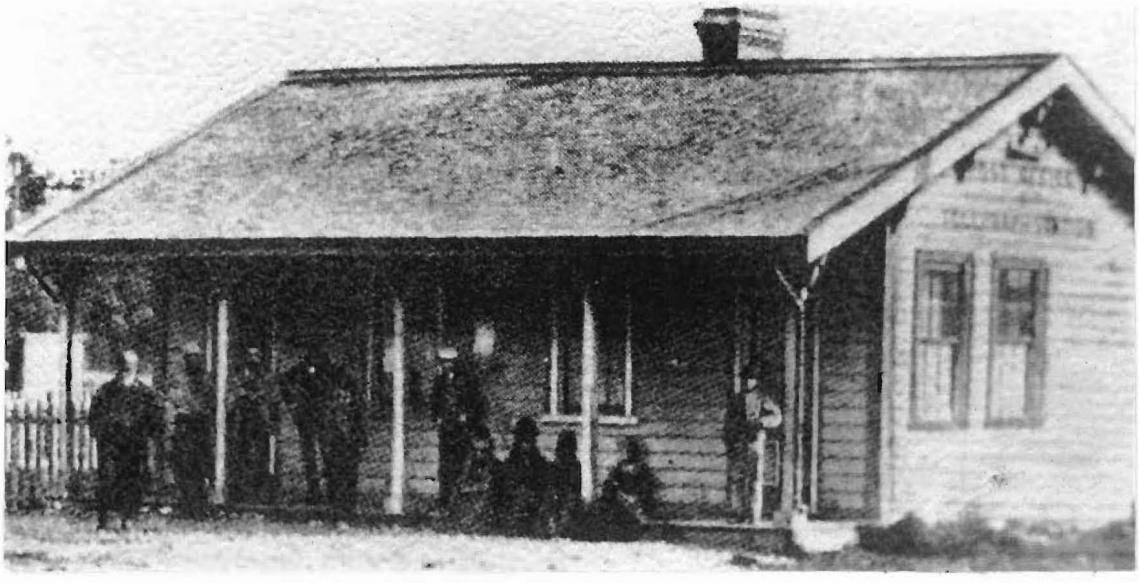
67. W. H. Clayton, Napier Post and Telegraph Office (1875-6).

68. W. H. Clayton, Lyttelton Government Buildings (1874-5).

69. W. H. Clayton, Christchurch Government Buildings (1877-9).



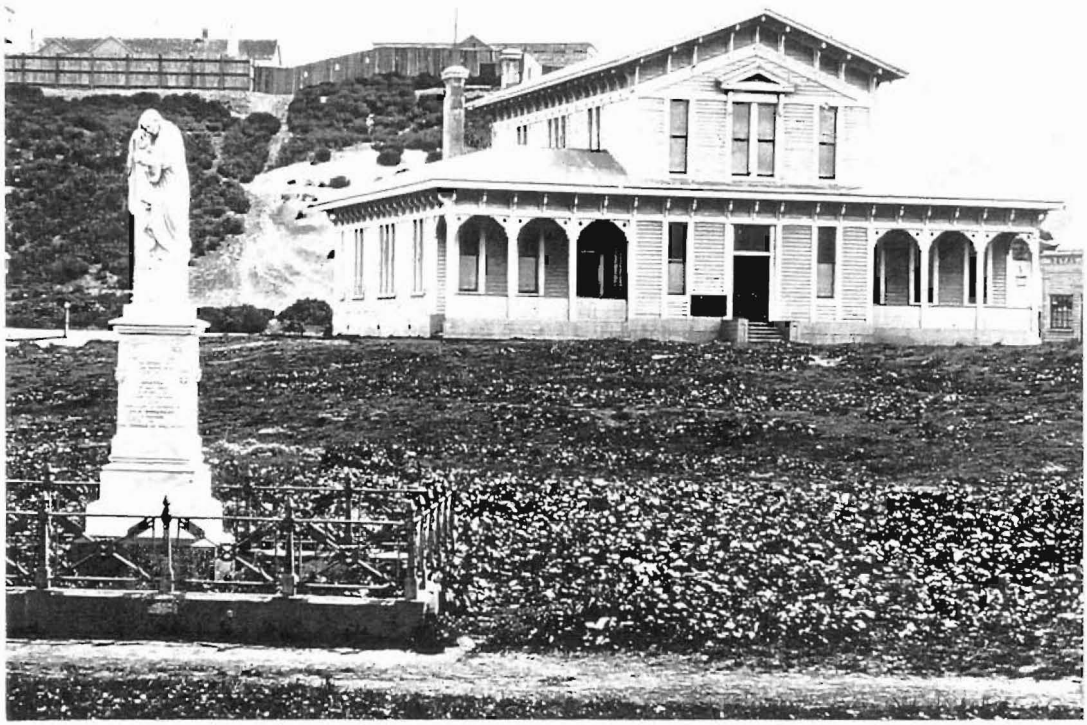
70. C. E. Beatson, Rangiora Post Office (1887).



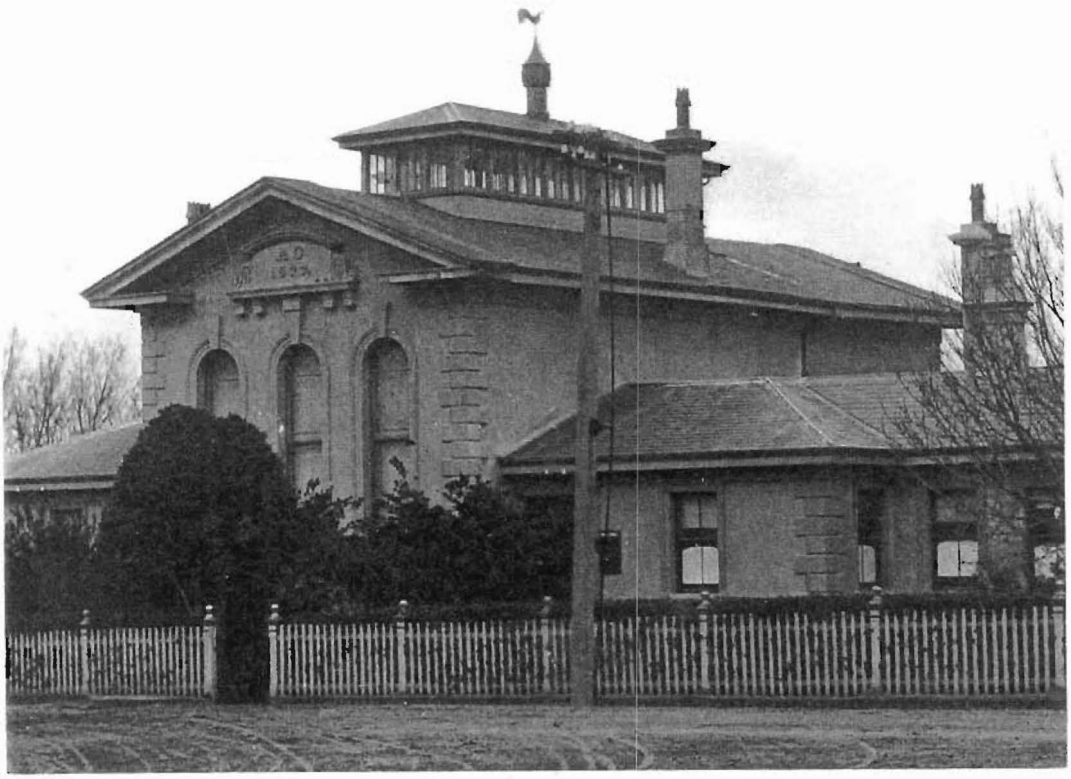
71. W. H. Clayton, Palmerston North Post Office (1874-5).

72. W. H. Clayton, Wanganui Post and Telegraph Office (1870).

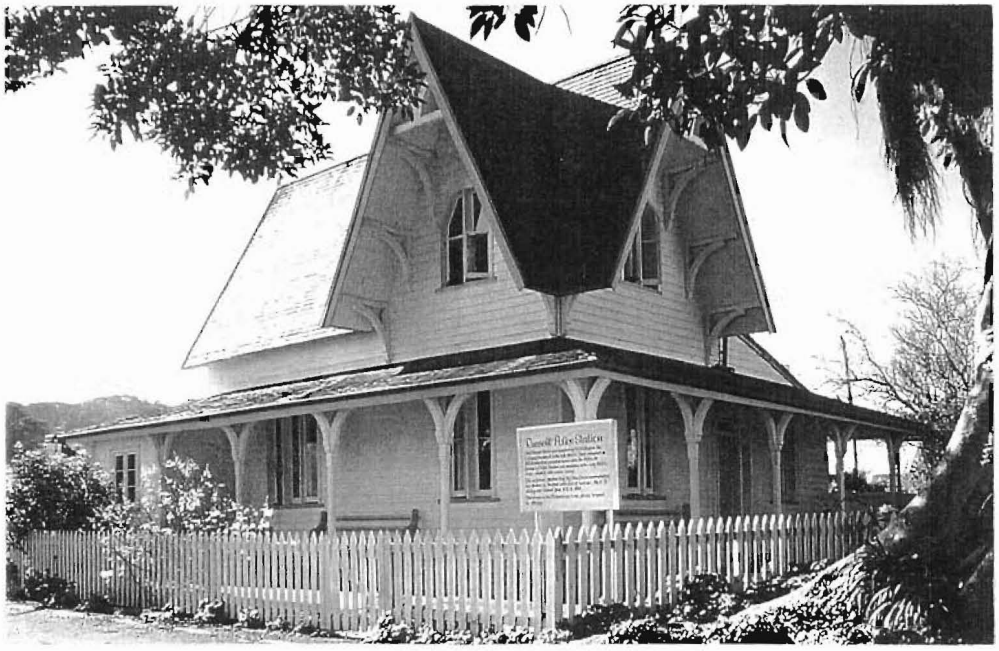
73. W. H. Clayton, Naseby Court House (1876).



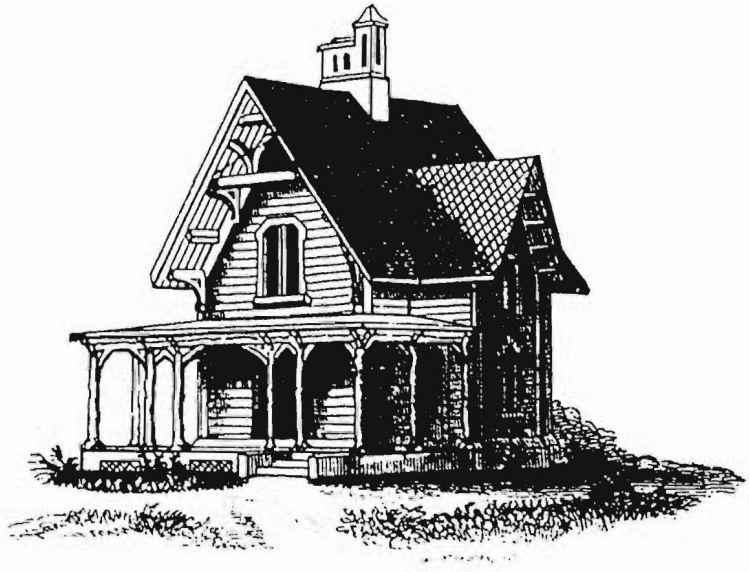
74. W. H. Clayton, Wanganui Court House (1870-1).



75. W. H. Clayton, Timaru Court House (1876-7).

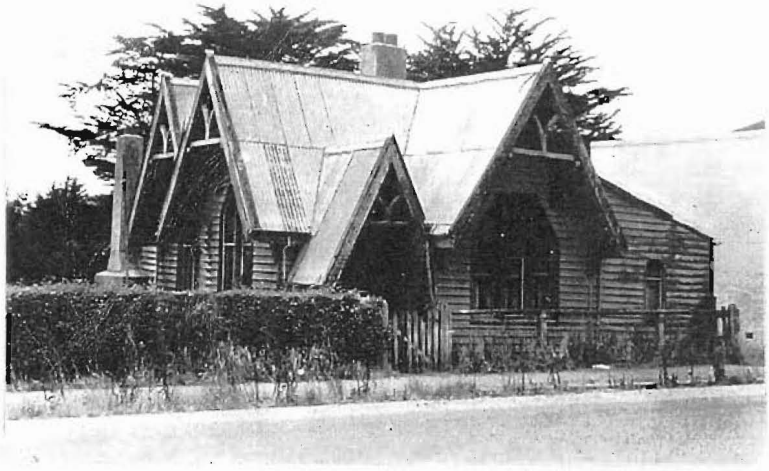


76. W. H. Clayton, Russell Customs House (1869-70).



PL. LXVI.—ENGLISH RUSTIC COTTAGE—EXTERIOR.

77. G. Wheeler, 'English Rustic Cottage', *Homes for the People in Suburb and Country; the Villa, the Mansion and the Cottage adapted to the American Climate and Wants*, New York, 1855, plate LXVI.

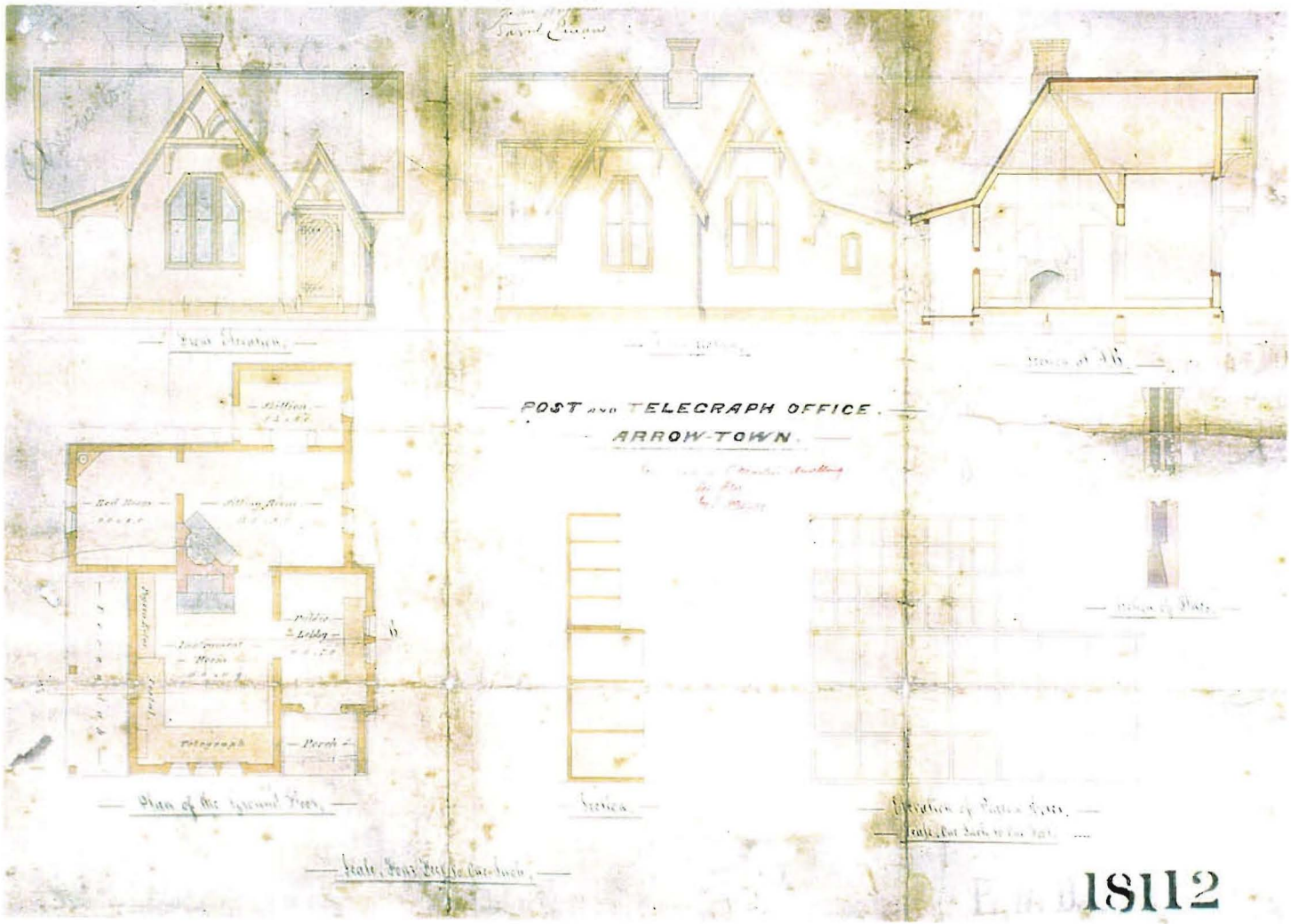


78. W. H. Clayton, Mataura Post and Telegraph Office (1870).

79. W. H. Clayton, Waimate Post and Telegraph Office (1870).

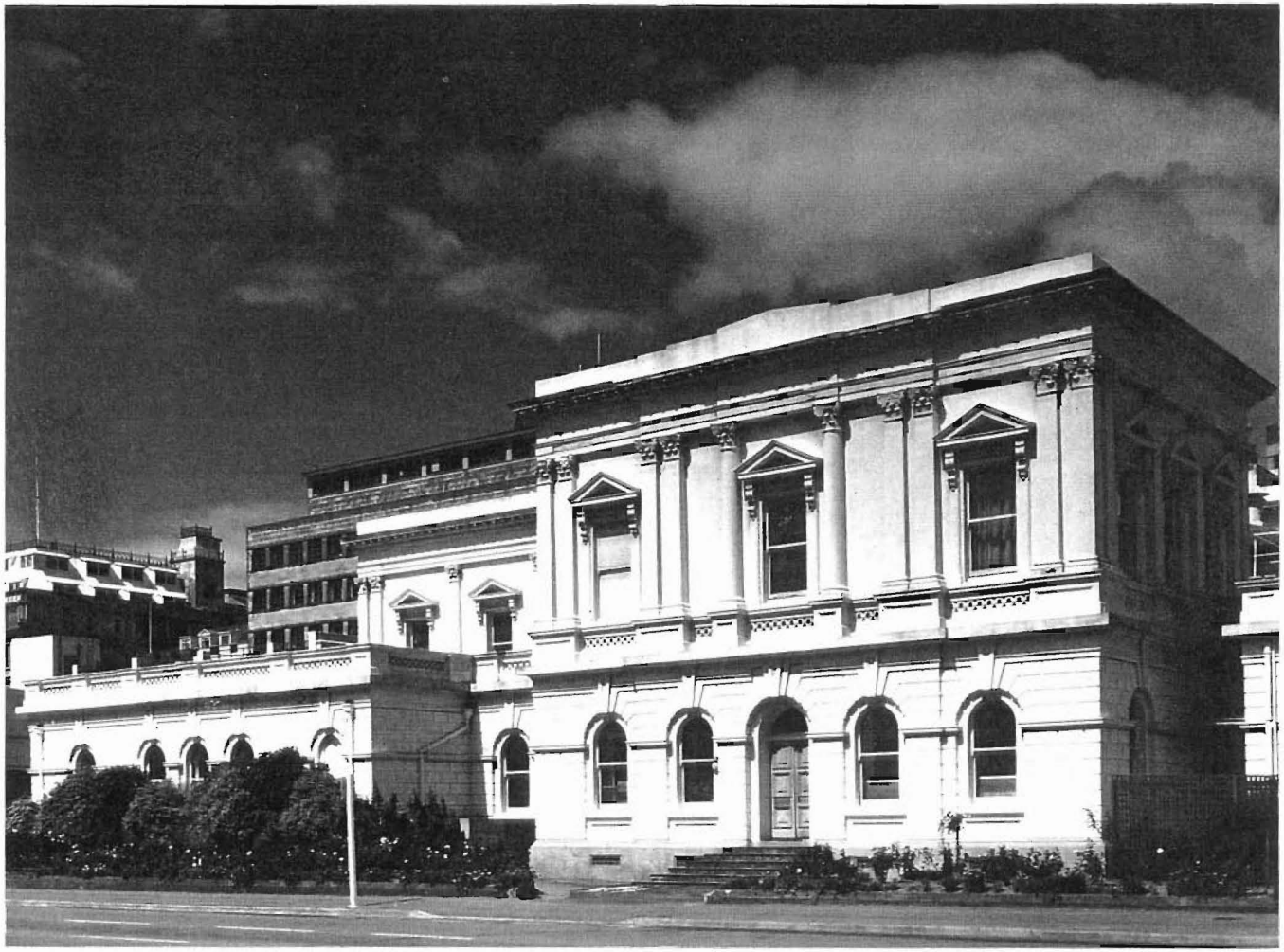
80. W. H. Clayton, Foxton Post and Telegraph Office (1870-1, additions 1875-6).

81. W. H. Clayton, Hampden Post and Telegraph Office (1870-1).

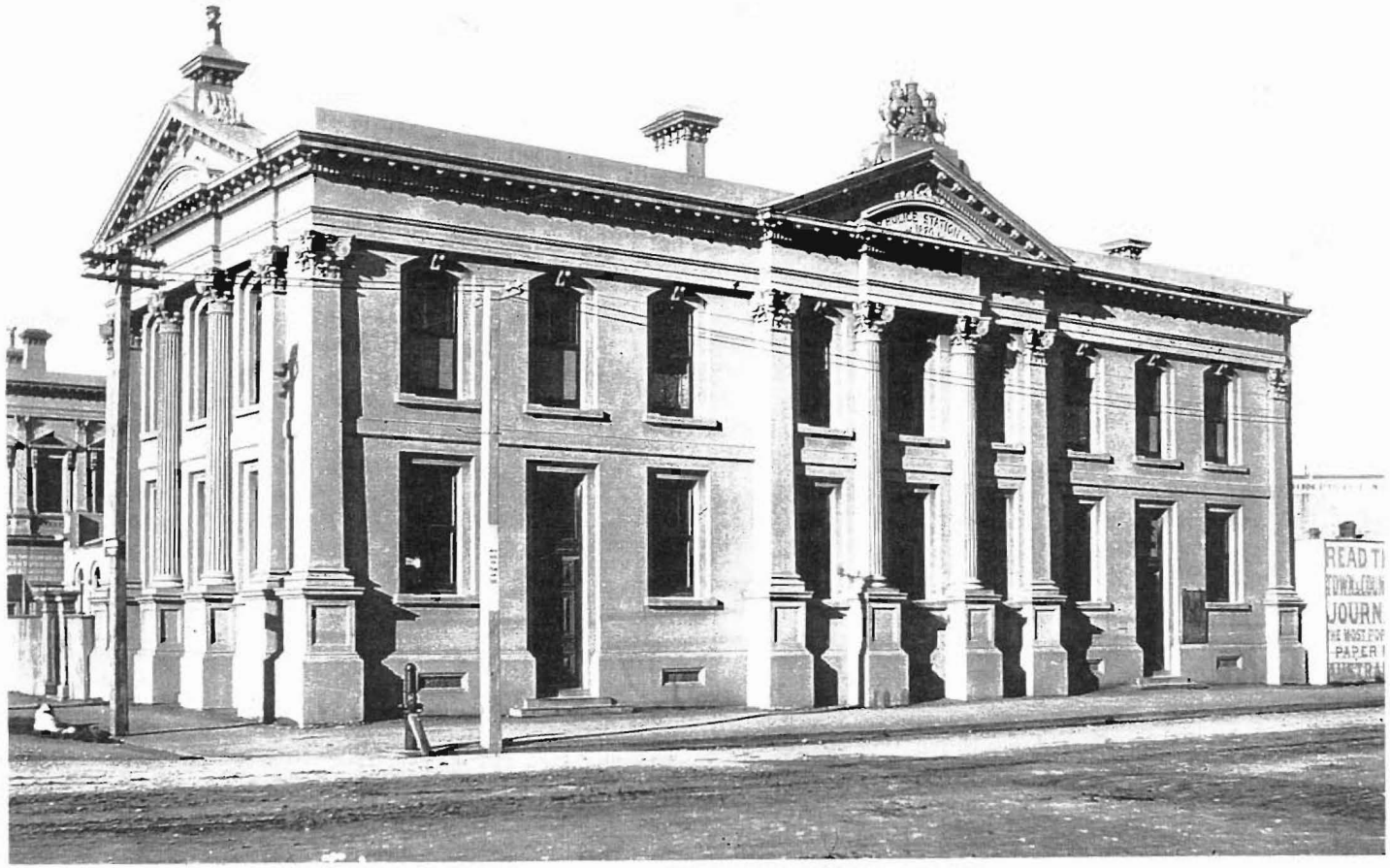


82. W. H. Clayton, Arrowtown Post and Telegraph Office (1871-2).

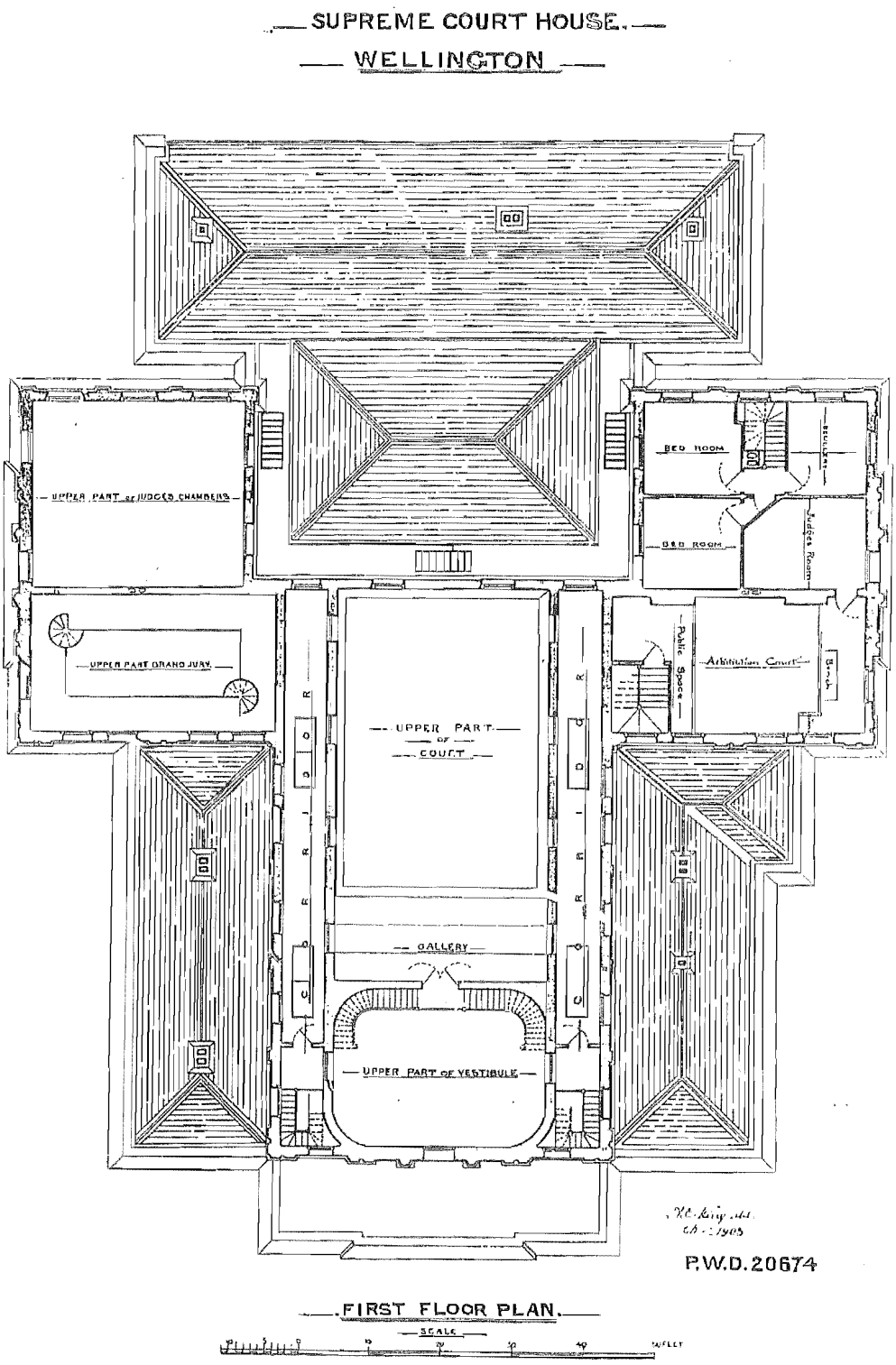
83. W. H. Clayton, Te Aute College (1871-2).



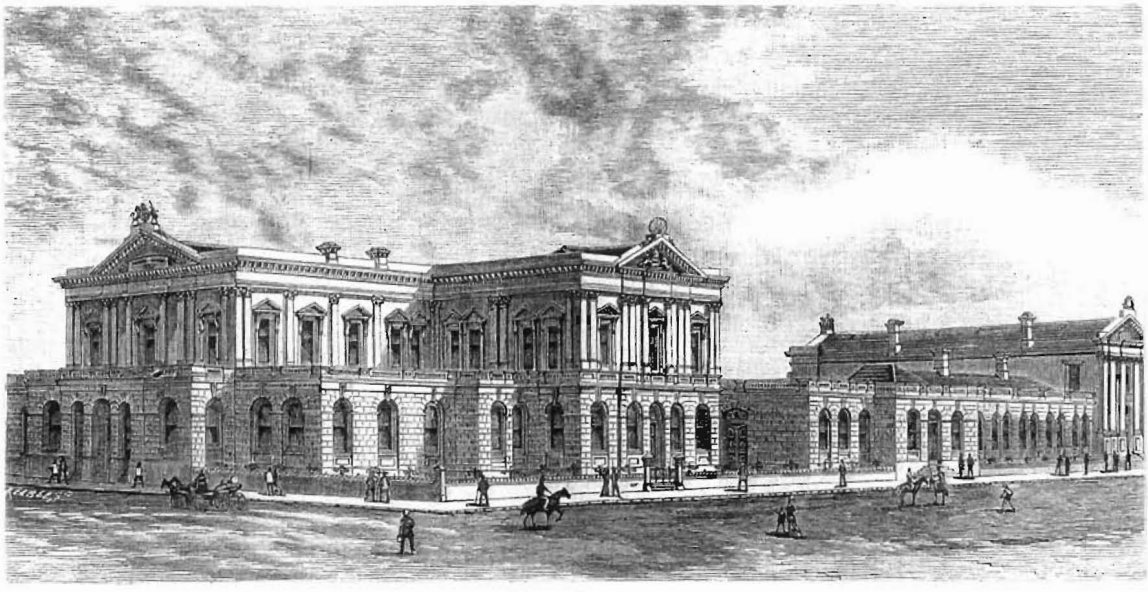
84. P. F. M. Burrows, Supreme Court House, Wellington (1879-81).



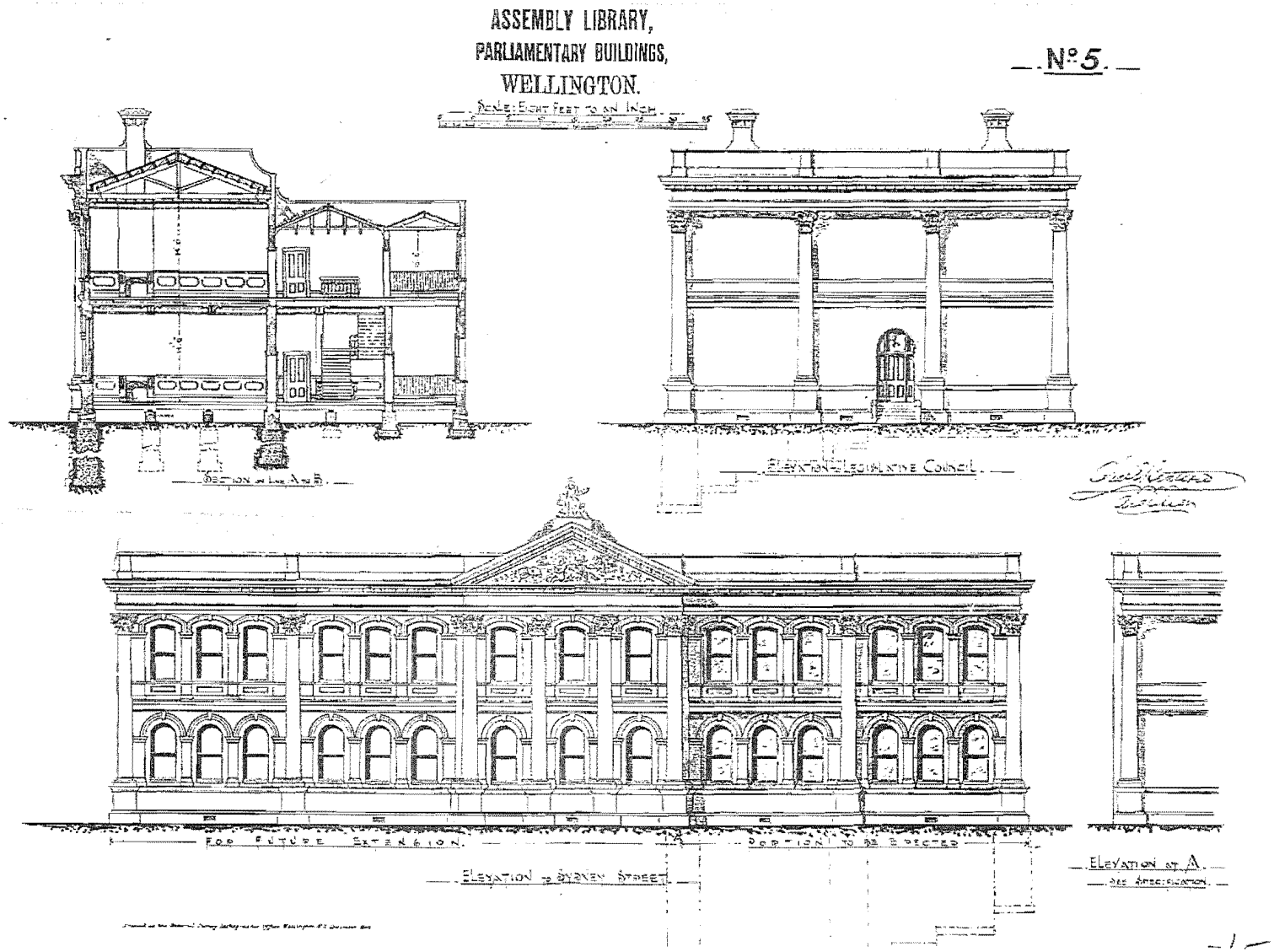
85. P. F. M. Burrows, Wellington Police Station (1880-1).



86. P. F. M. Burrows, Wellington Supreme Court House (1879-81), First Floor Plan as drawn by A. E. King in 1903.

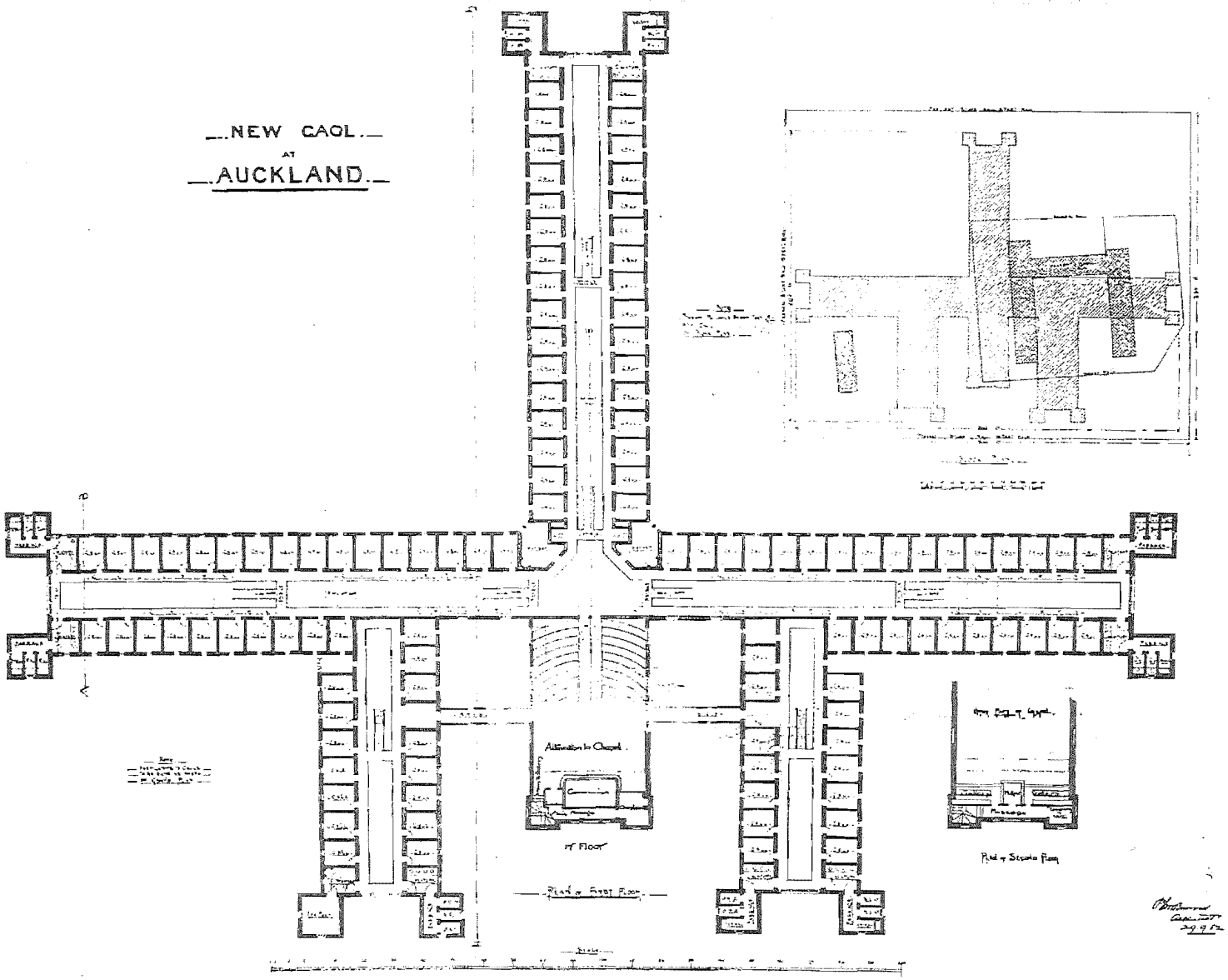


87. P. F. M. Burrows, Perspective of Wellington Supreme Court complex & Police Station (c. 1879).

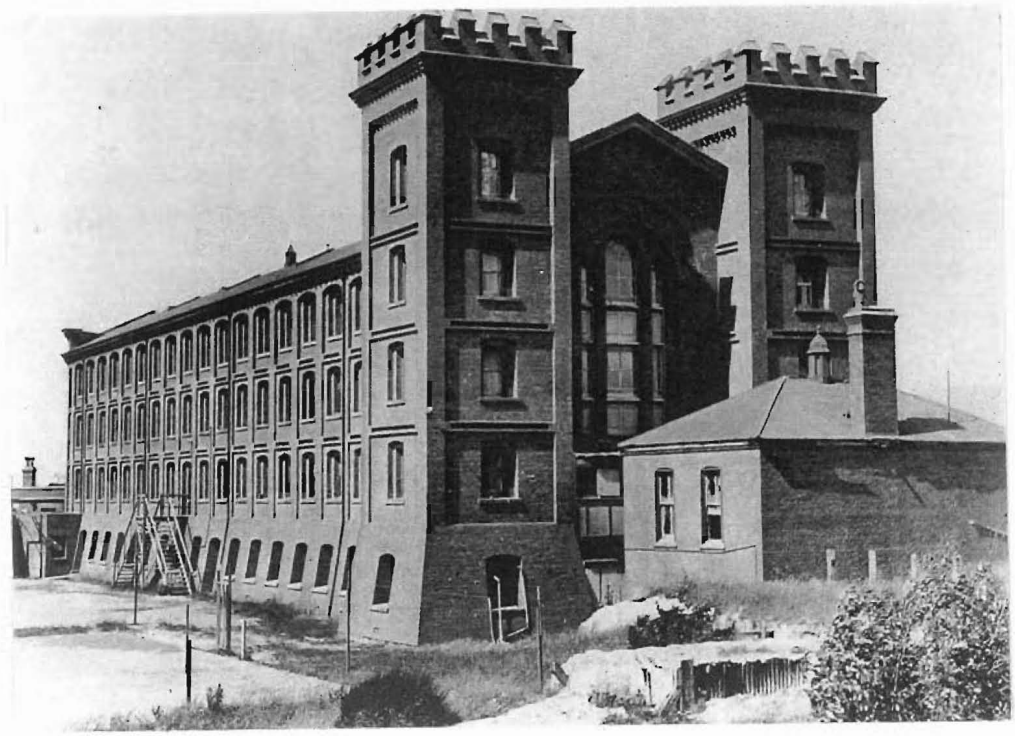


88. C. E. Beatson, Project for Assembly Library, Parliamentary Buildings, Wellington (1884).

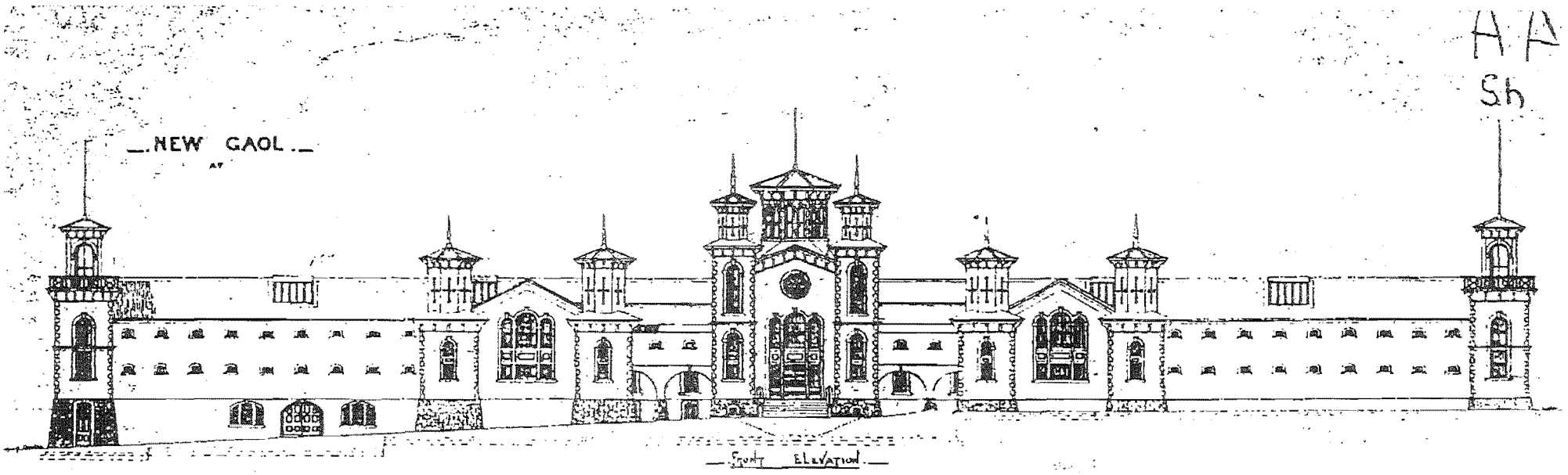
89. C. E. Beatson, Government Printing Office, Wellington (1886-8).



90. P. F. M. Burrows, First Floor Plan, Mt Eden Prison, Auckland (1882).



91. P. F. M. Burrows, Mt Cook Gaol, Wellington (1883 onwards).

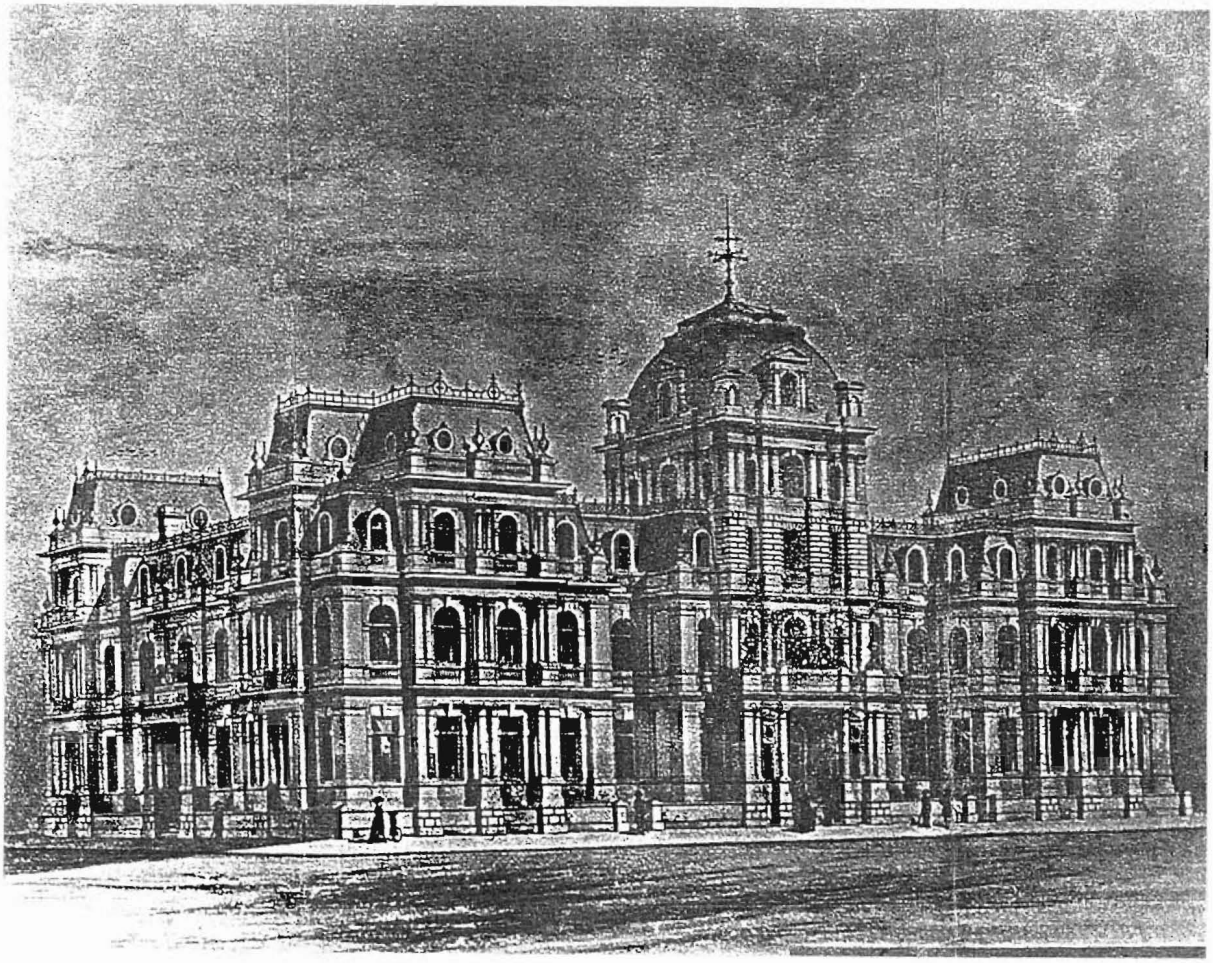


92. P. F. M. Burrows, Proposed Elevation, Mt Eden Prison, Auckland (1882).

93. Standard W. H. Clayton design, Akaroa Court House (1878-80).

94. P. F. M. Burrows, Waiuku Court House (1885).

95. P. F. M. Burrows, Masterton Court House (1883-4).



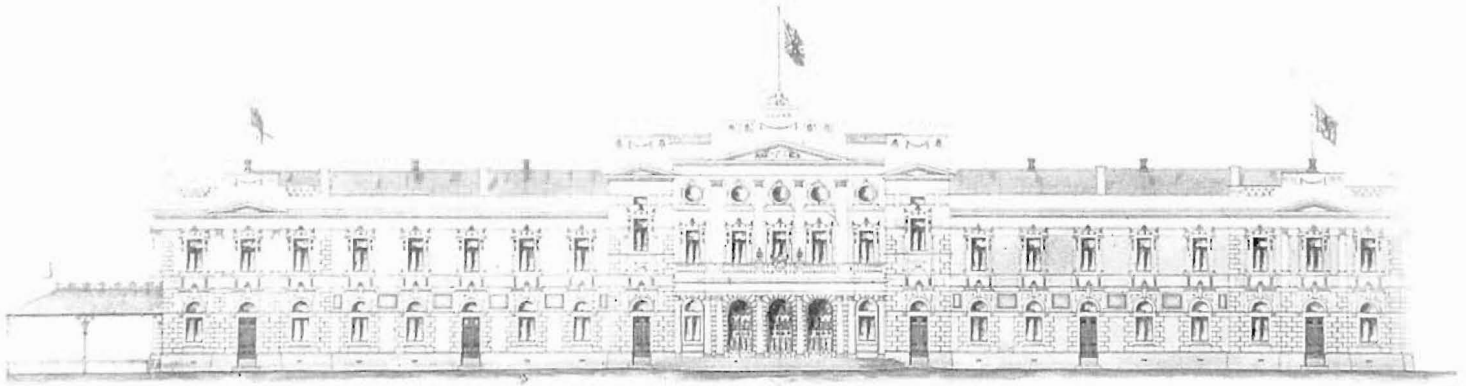
96. P. F. M. Burrows, Perspective of Public Building, probably proposed New Zealand Insurance Company Offices (date unknown).

WAITAKI-BLUFF WITH BRANCHES RAILWAY.

DRAWING No.5

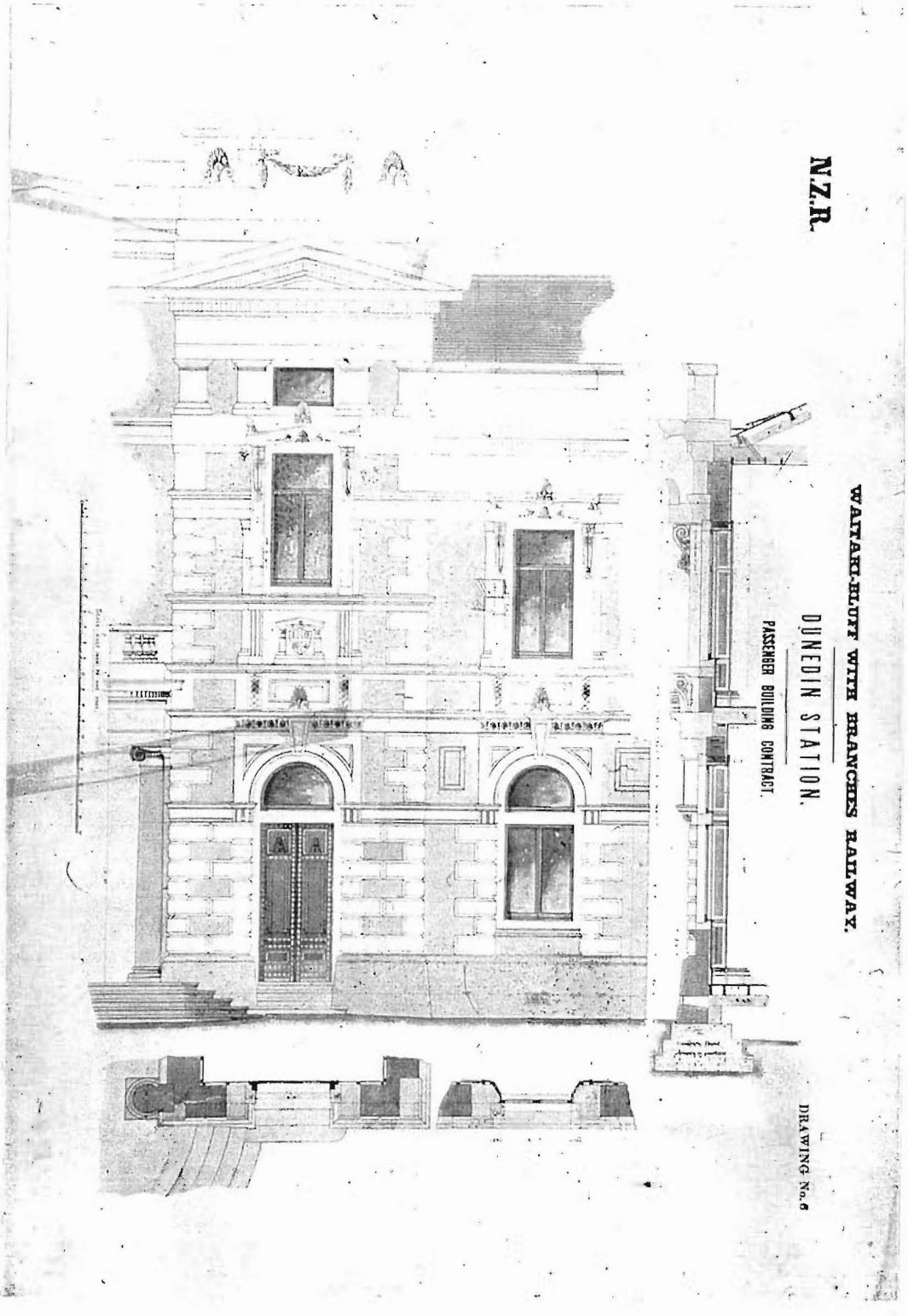
DUNEDIN STATION.

PASSENGER BUILDING CONTRACT.

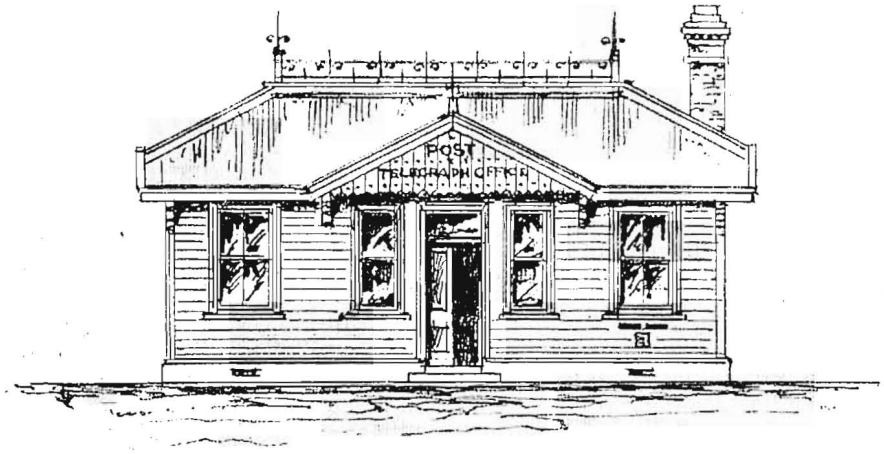


ELEVATION TO STREET.

97. J. Campbell, Project for Dunedin Railway Station (1884).

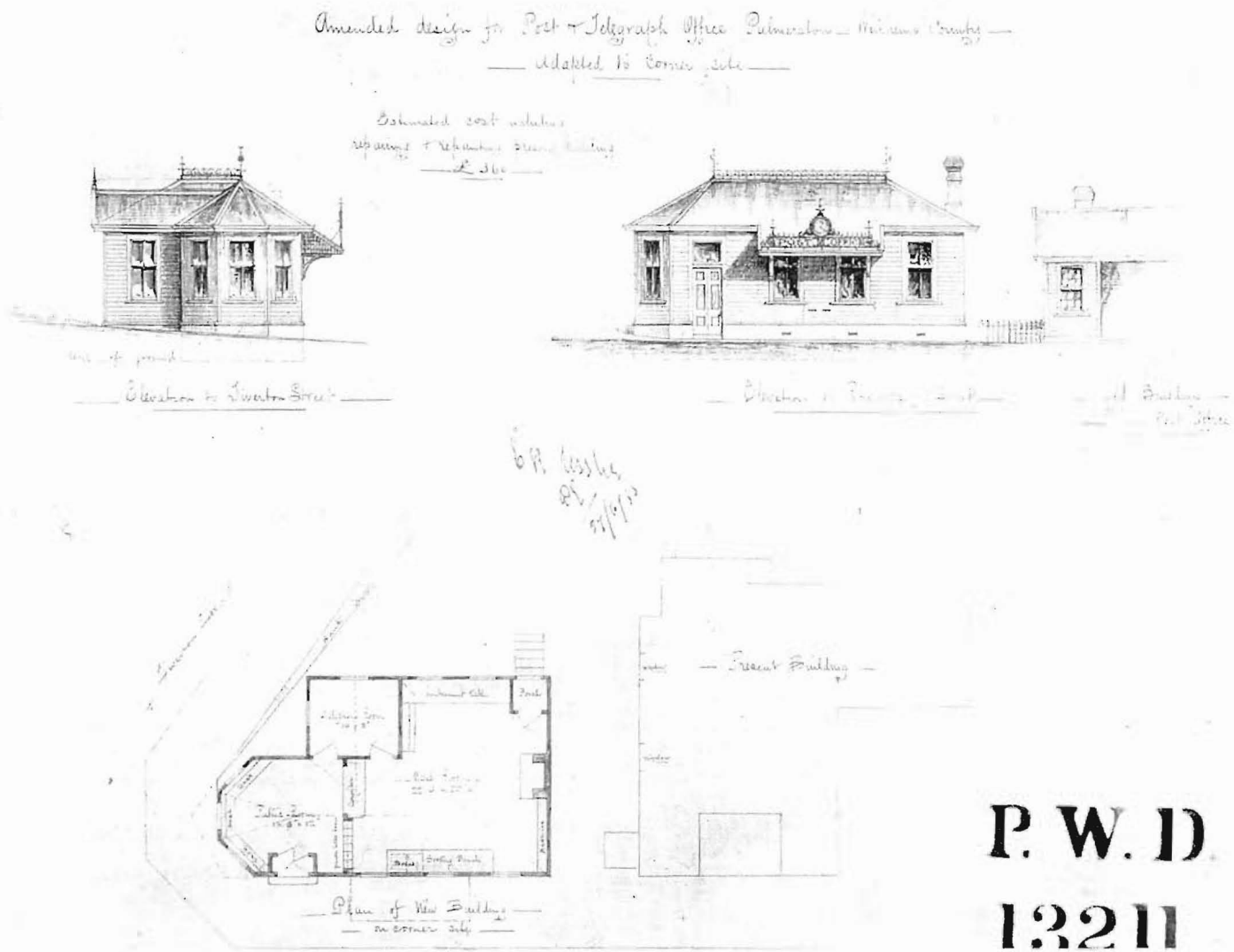


98. J. Campbell, Detail of Project for Dunedin Railway Station (1884).

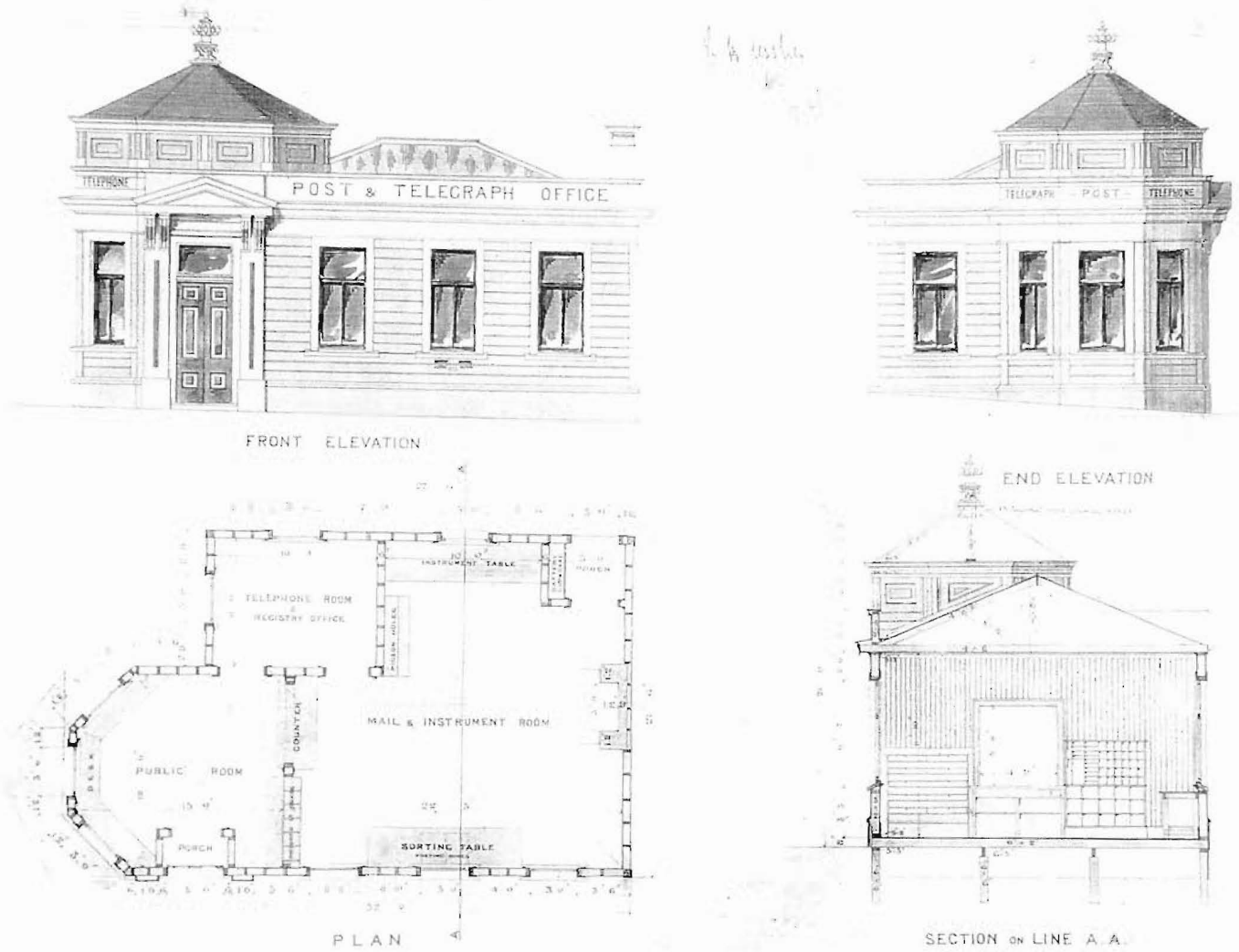


ELEVATION OF PROPOSED NEW BUILDING

99. J. Campbell, Project for Palmerston Post & Telegraph Office (c. 1885).

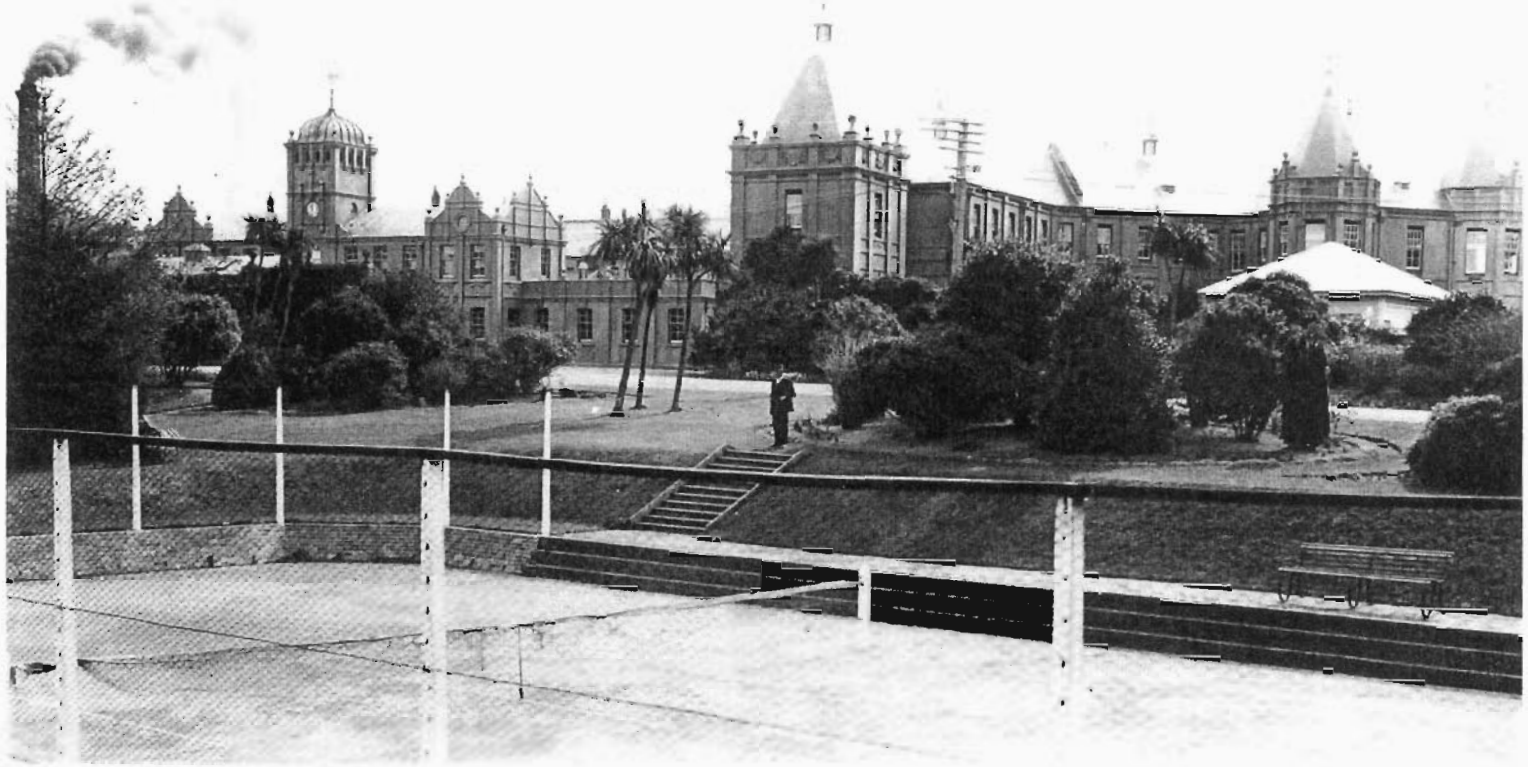


100. J. Campbell, Amended Project for Palmerston Post & Telegraph Office (1885).

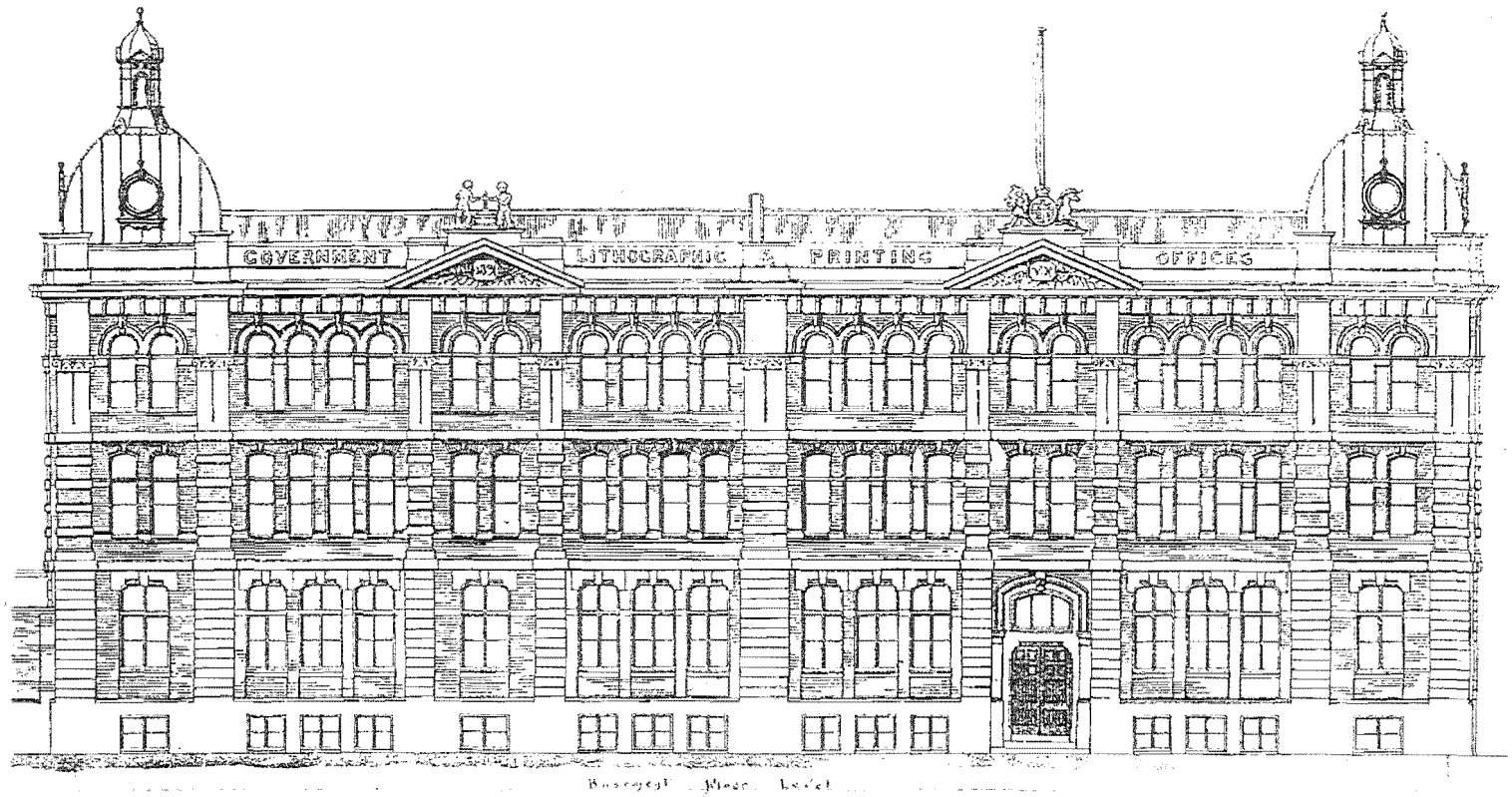


101. J. Campbell, Further Amended Design for Palmerston Post & Telegraph Office (1885).

102. J. Campbell (attrib.), Ophir Post & Telegraph Office (1886).

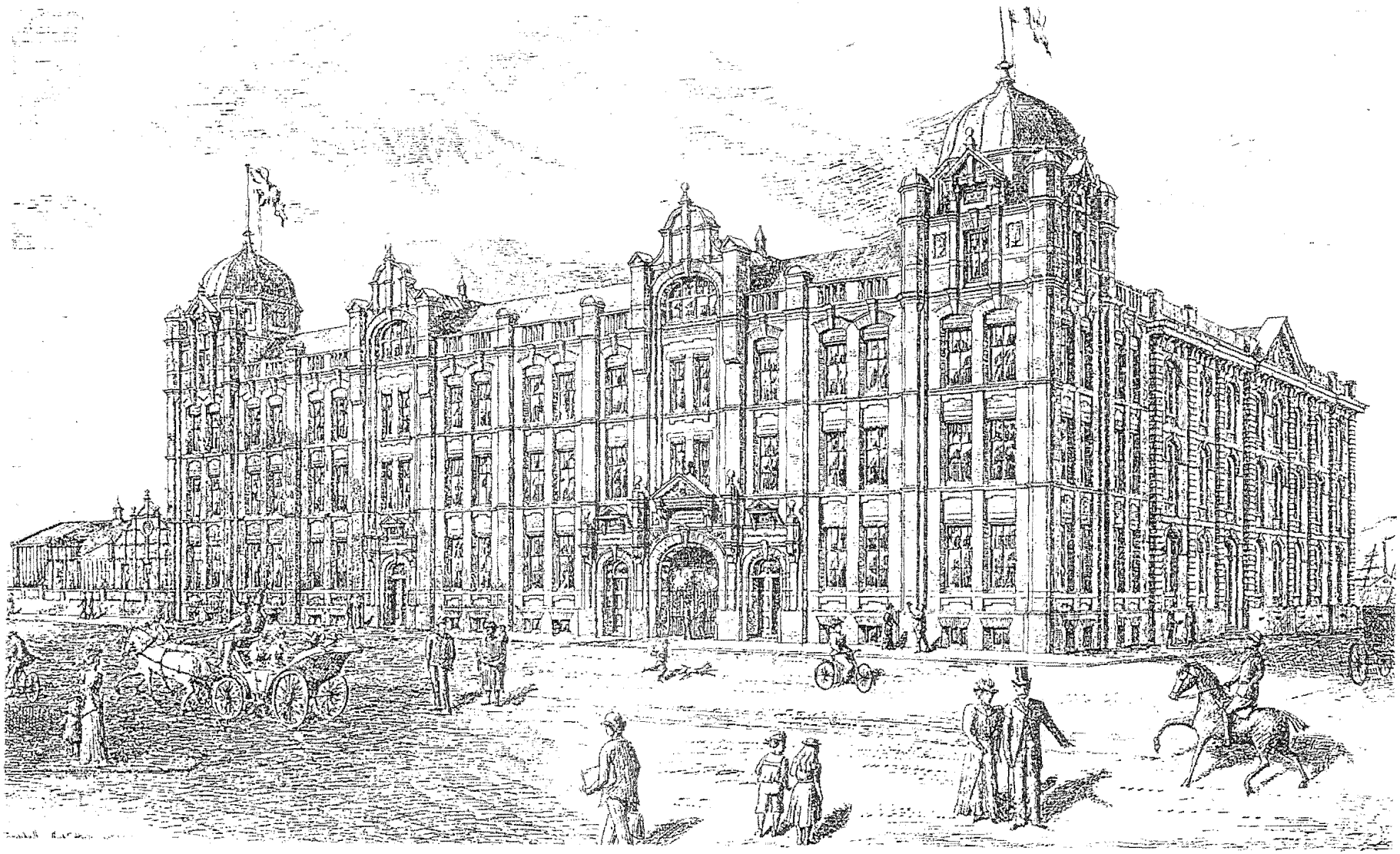


103. J. Campbell, Porirua Lunatic Asylum (1891 onwards).

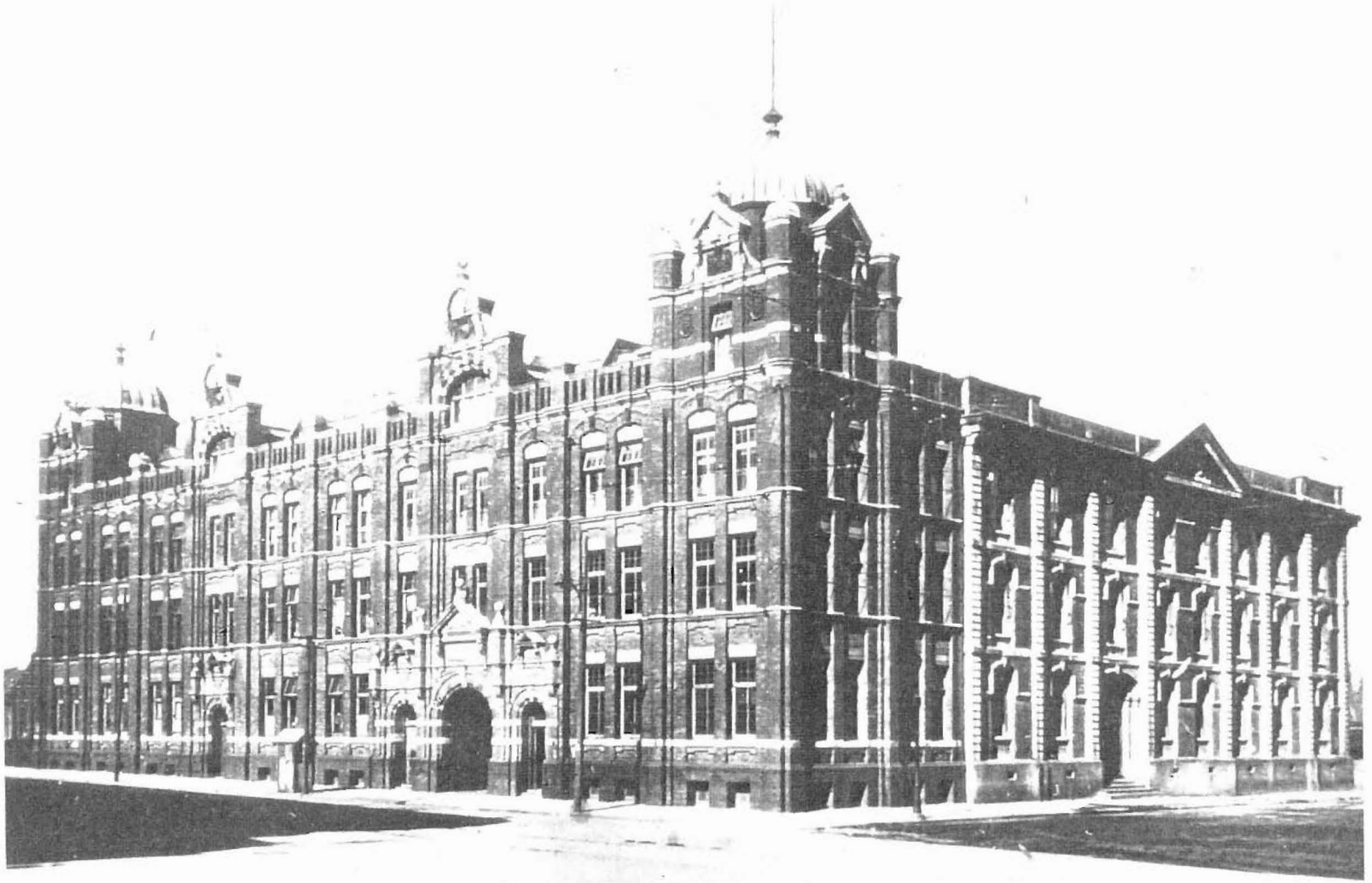


ELEVATION TO LAMBTON QUAY.

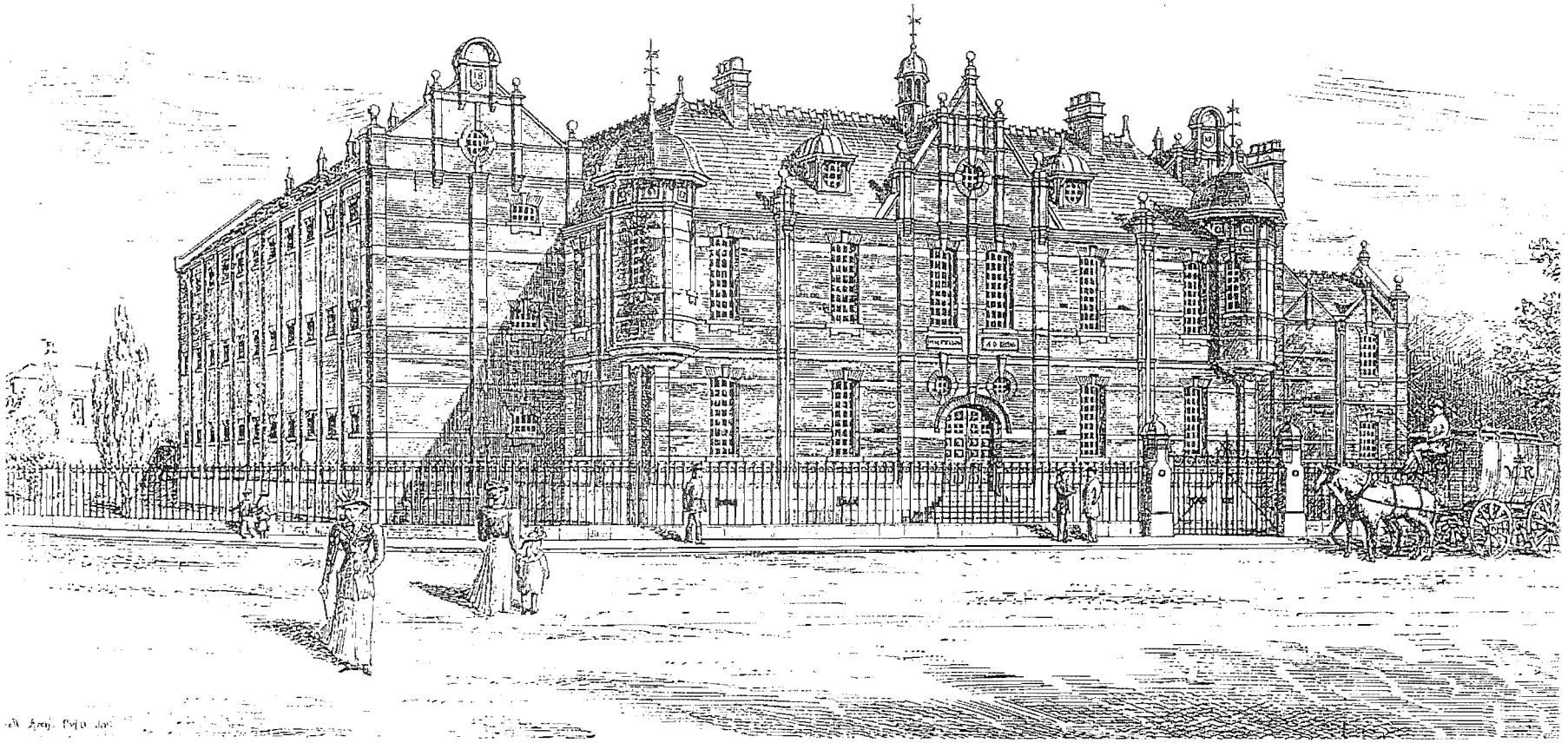
104. J. Campbell, Elevation of Project for Government Printing Office, Wellington (1891).



105. J. Campbell, Perspective, Government Printing Office, Final Design (c. 1894).

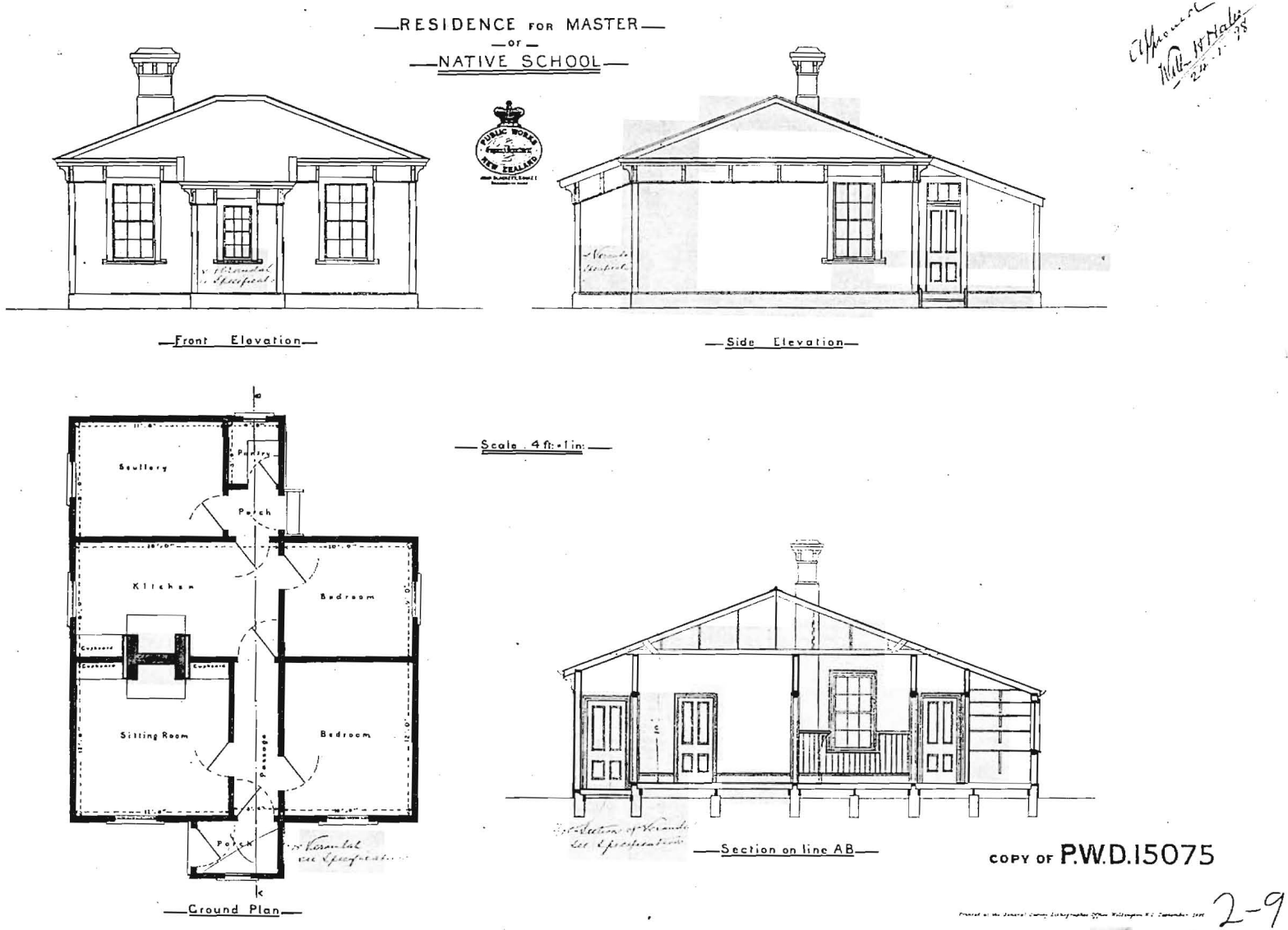


106. J. Campbell, Government Printing Office Additions, Wellington (1895-6) & C. E. Beatson, Original Government Printing Office Building (1886-8).

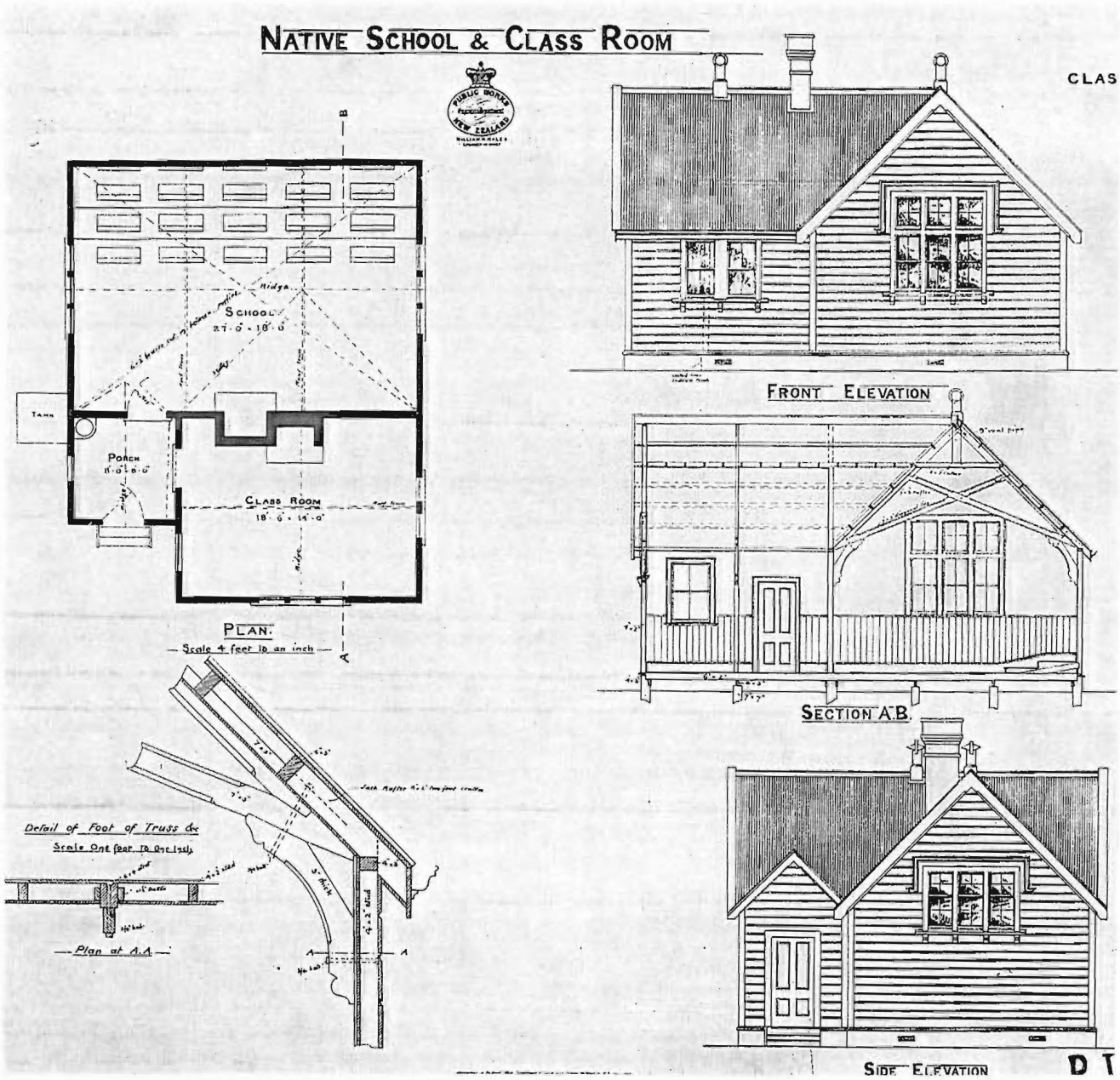


107. J. Campbell, Perspective, Dunedin Gaol (c. 1894, built 1895-7).

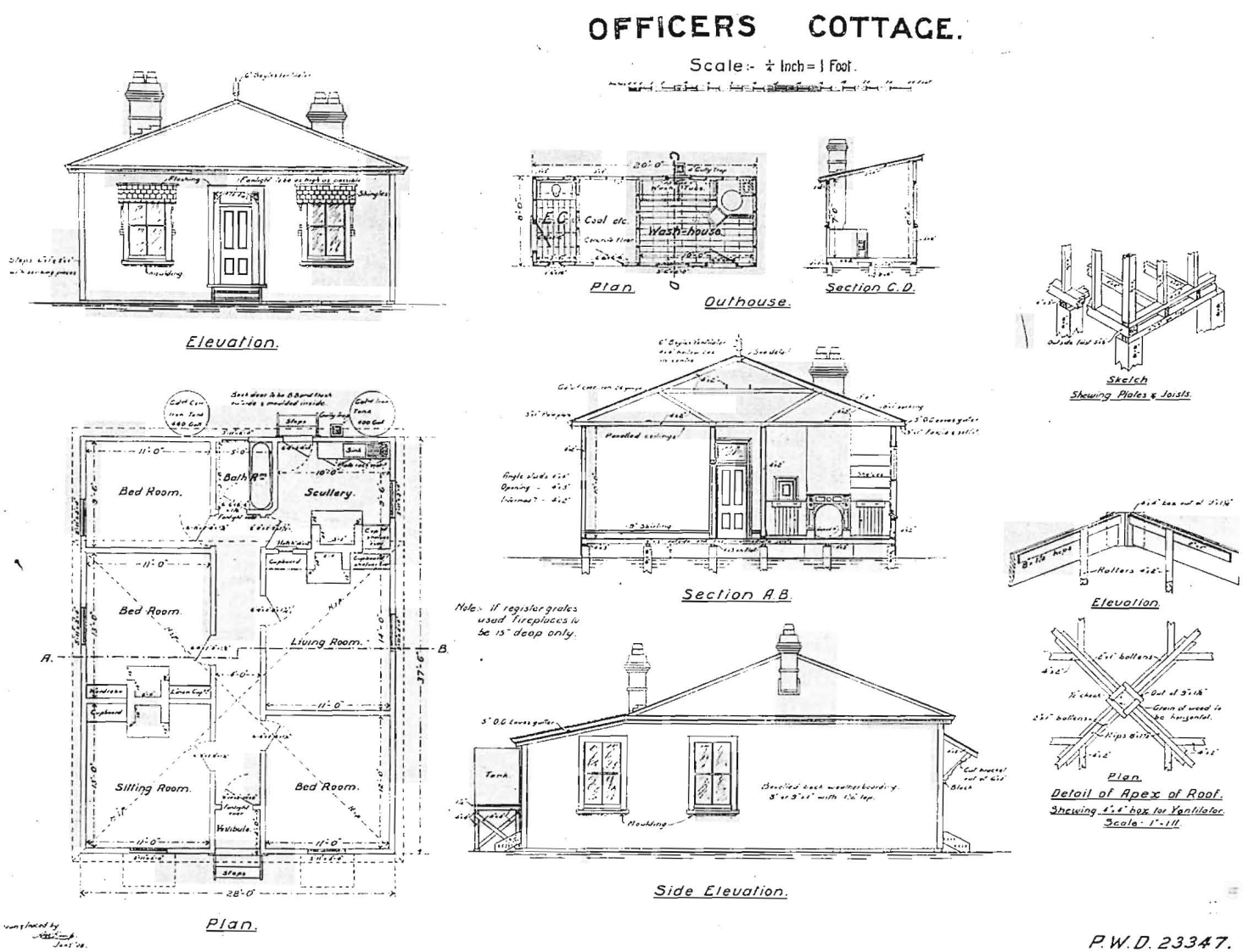
108. J. Campbell, Dunedin Law Courts (1899-1902) & Dunedin Gaol (1895-7).



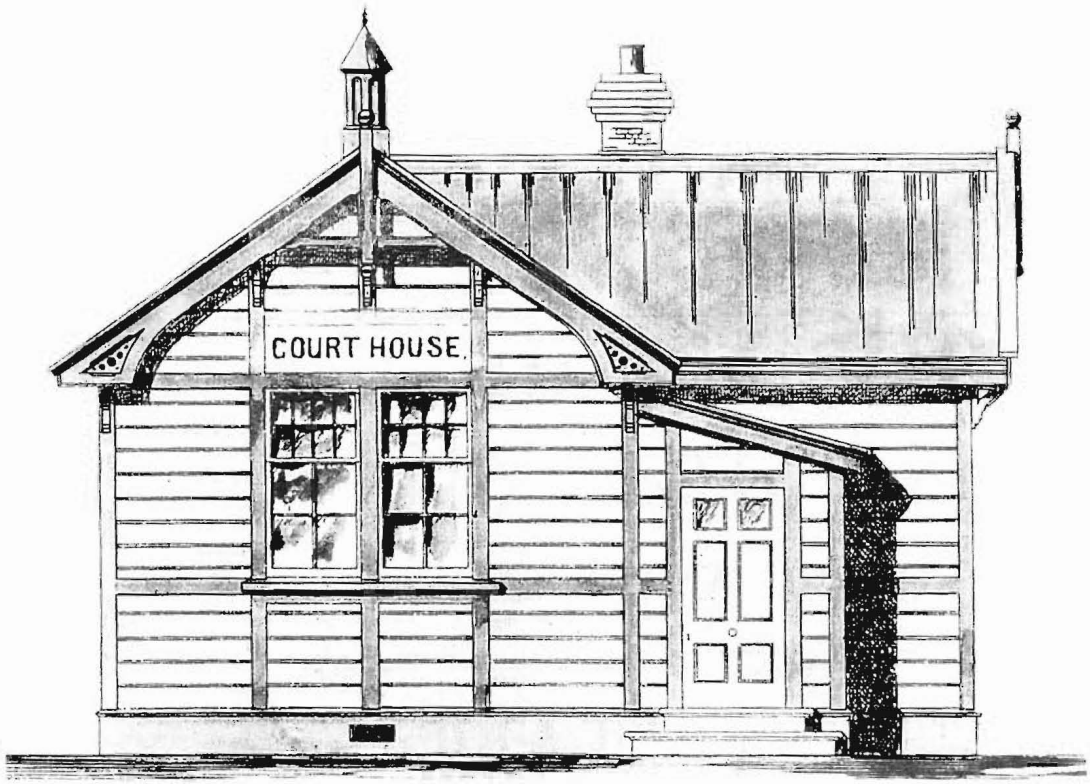
109. J. Campbell, Residence for Master of Native School (1898).



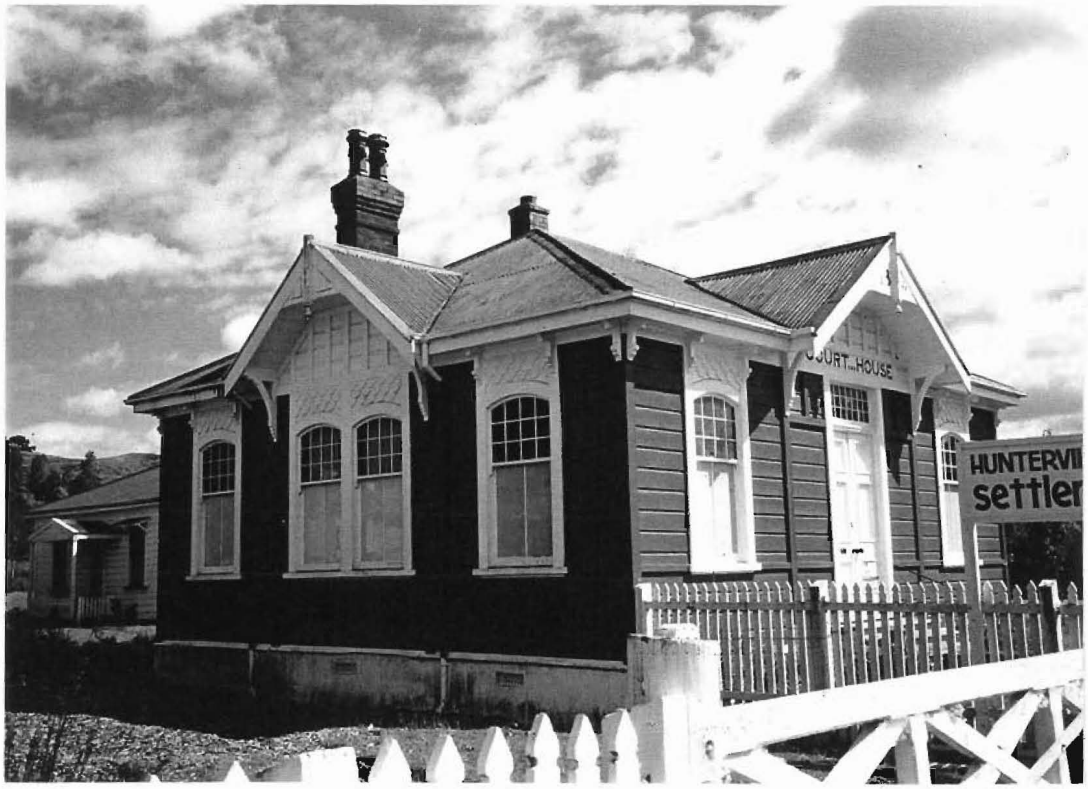
110. J. Campbell, Native School & Class Room, Class D (1898).



111. J. Campbell, Officer's Cottage (1908).

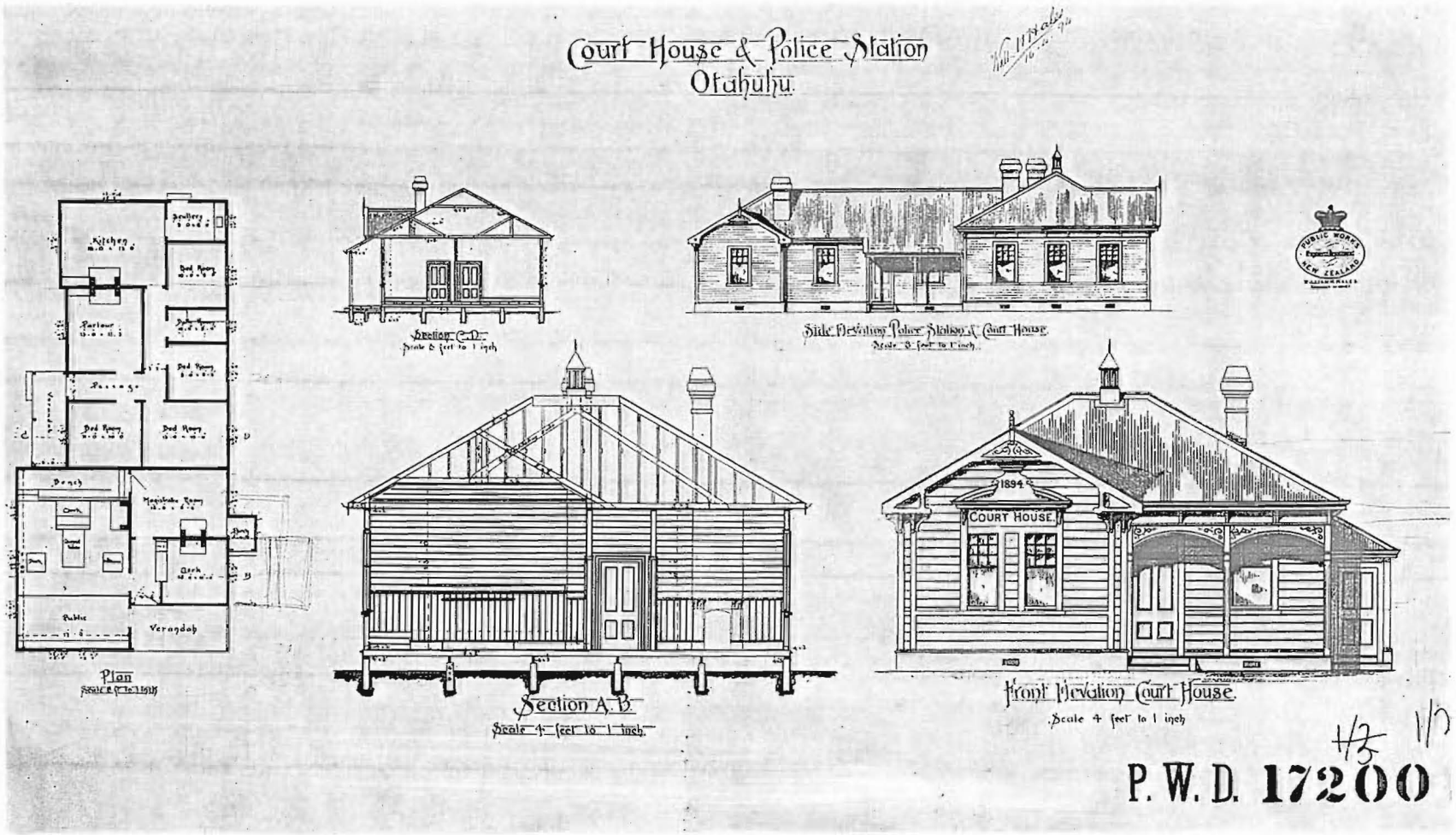


112. J. Campbell, Leeston Court House (1898).

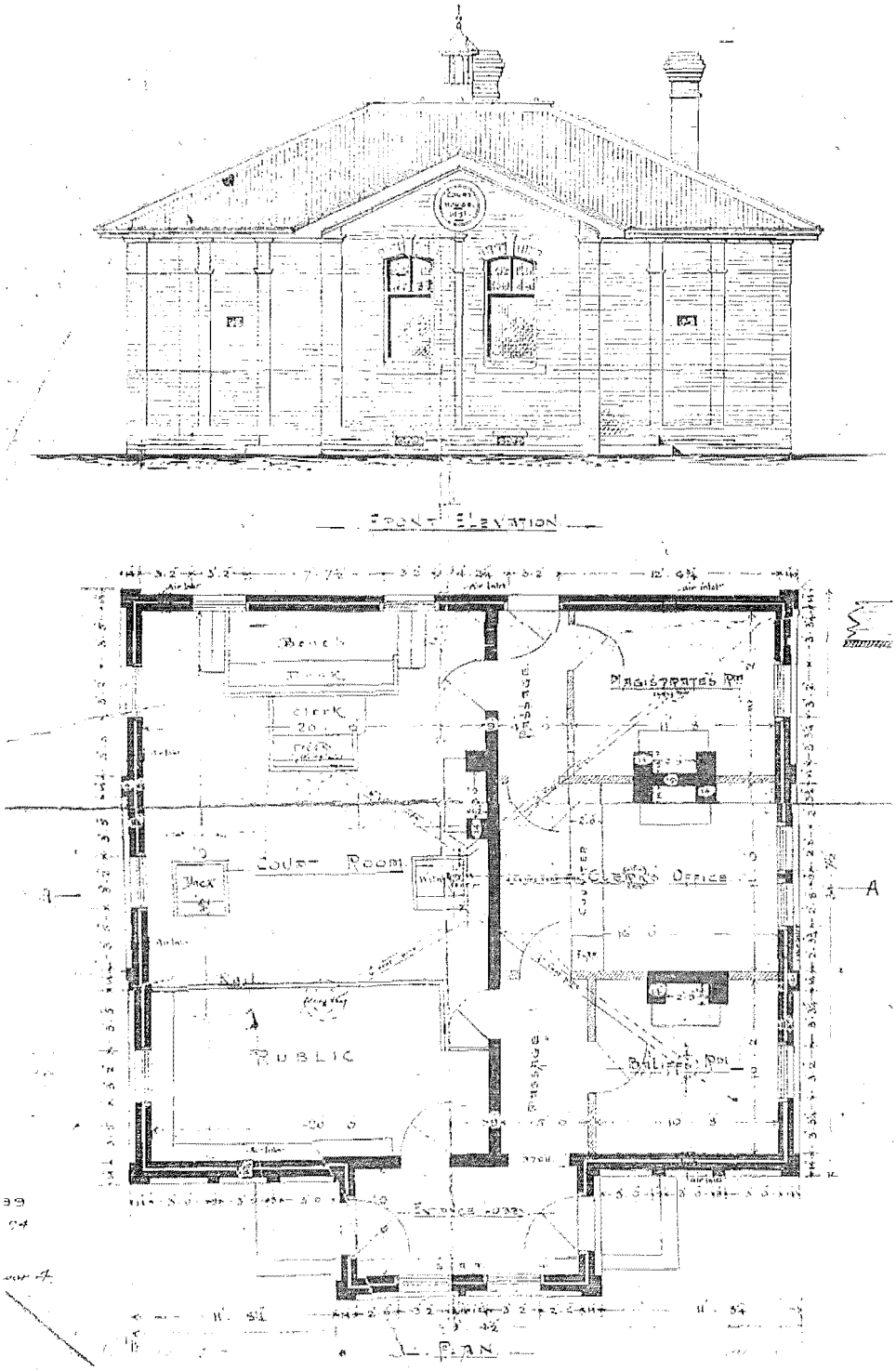


113. J. Campbell, Hunterville Court House (1895).

114. J. Campbell, Takaka Post Office (1900).



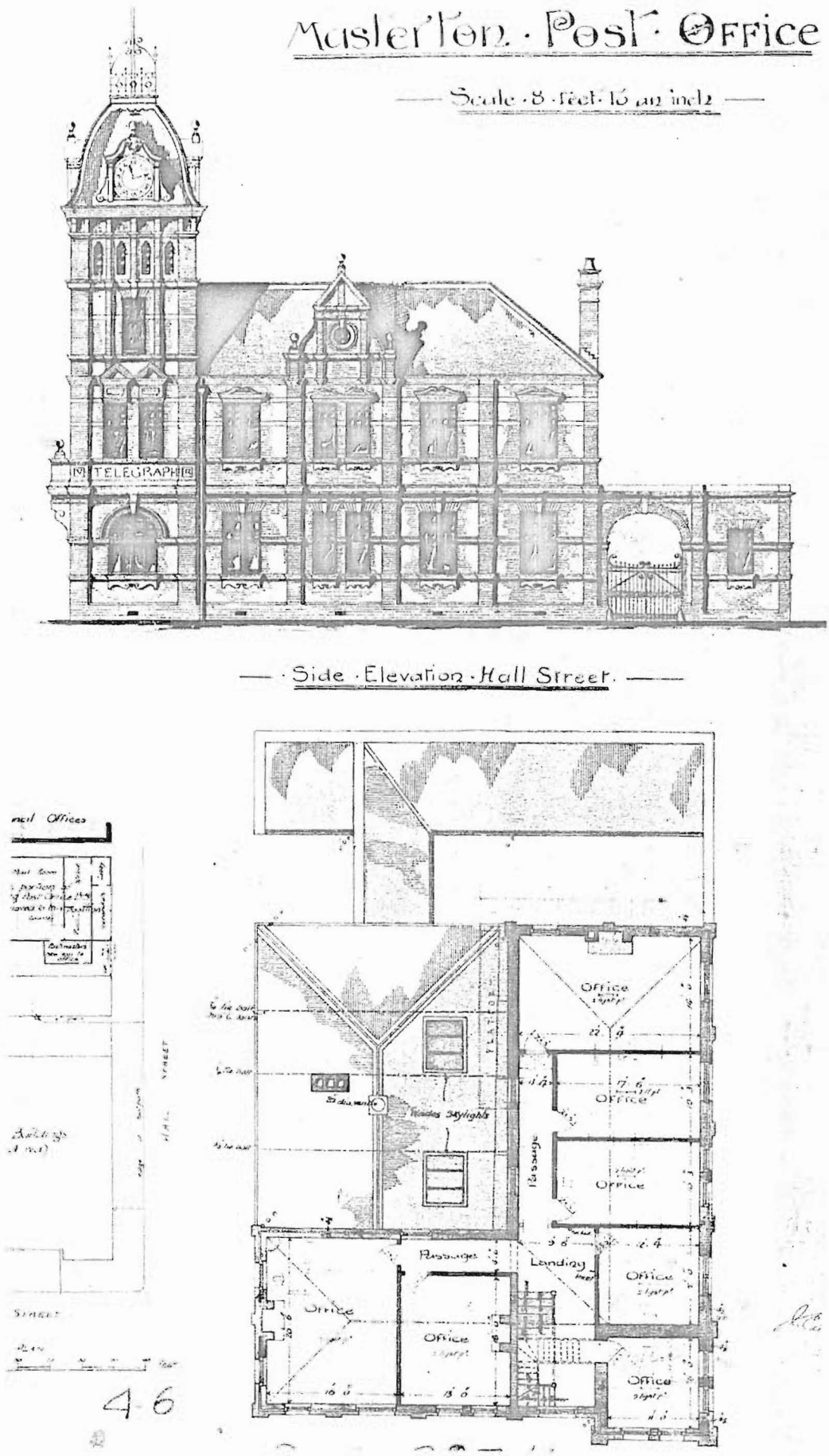
115. J. Campbell, Otahuhu Court House & Police Station (1894).



116. W. Crichton, Whangarei Court House (1890).

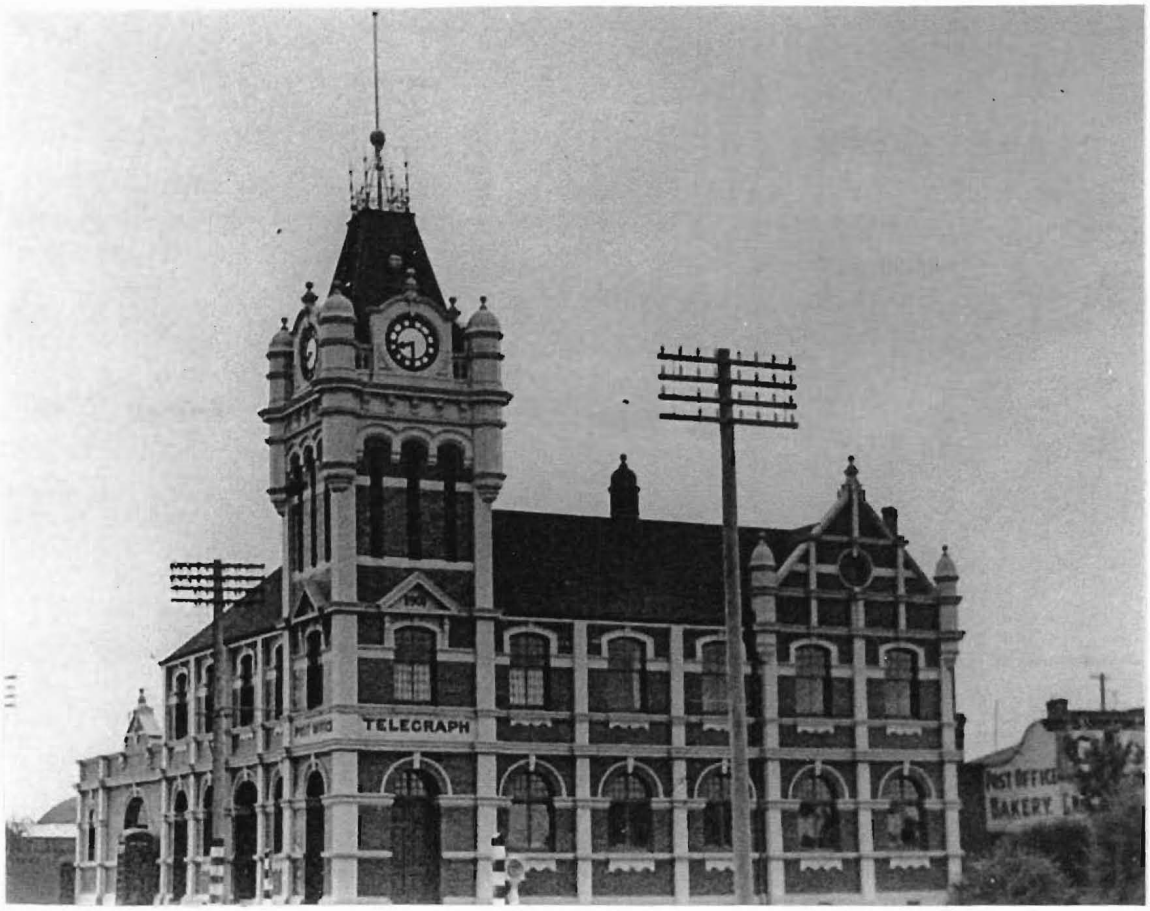
117. J. Campbell, Marton Court House (1897).

118. J. Campbell, Opunake Post Office (1900).



119. J. Campbell, Masterton Post Office, Elevation & First Floor Plan (1899-1900).

120. J. Campbell, Masterton Post Office (1899-1900).



121. J. Campbell, Ashburton Post Office (1900-01).

122. J. Campbell, Spit Post Office, Port Ahuriri, Napier (1902-3).

123. J. Campbell, Levin Post Office (1903).

124. C. Lawrence & J. Campbell, Napier Departmental Offices (1902-4, 1905-7).

125. J. Campbell, Wellington Magistrate's Court House (1902-3).

126. J. Campbell, Greymouth Court House (1911-12).

127. J. Campbell, Hokitika Departmental Offices (1908-9, 1912-3).

128. J. Campbell, Greymouth Post Office (1905–8).

129. J. Campbell, Nelson Post Office (1905-6).

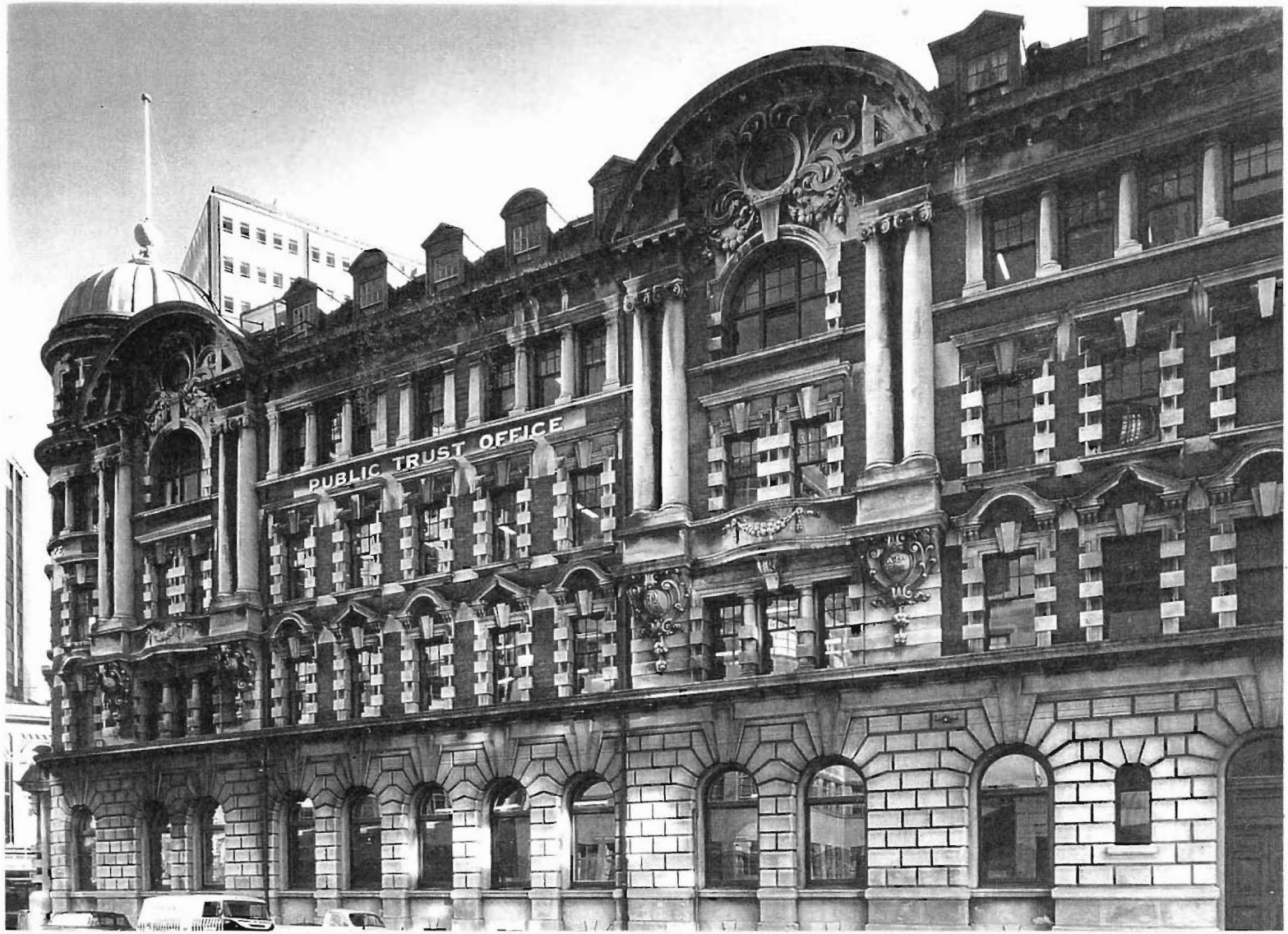
130. J. Campbell, Wanganui Post Office (1901-2).

131. J. Campbell, Hastings Post Office (1910).

132. J. Campbell, Wellesley Street Telephone Exchange, Auckland (1918-20).

133. J. Campbell, Wellington Customs House (1902-5).

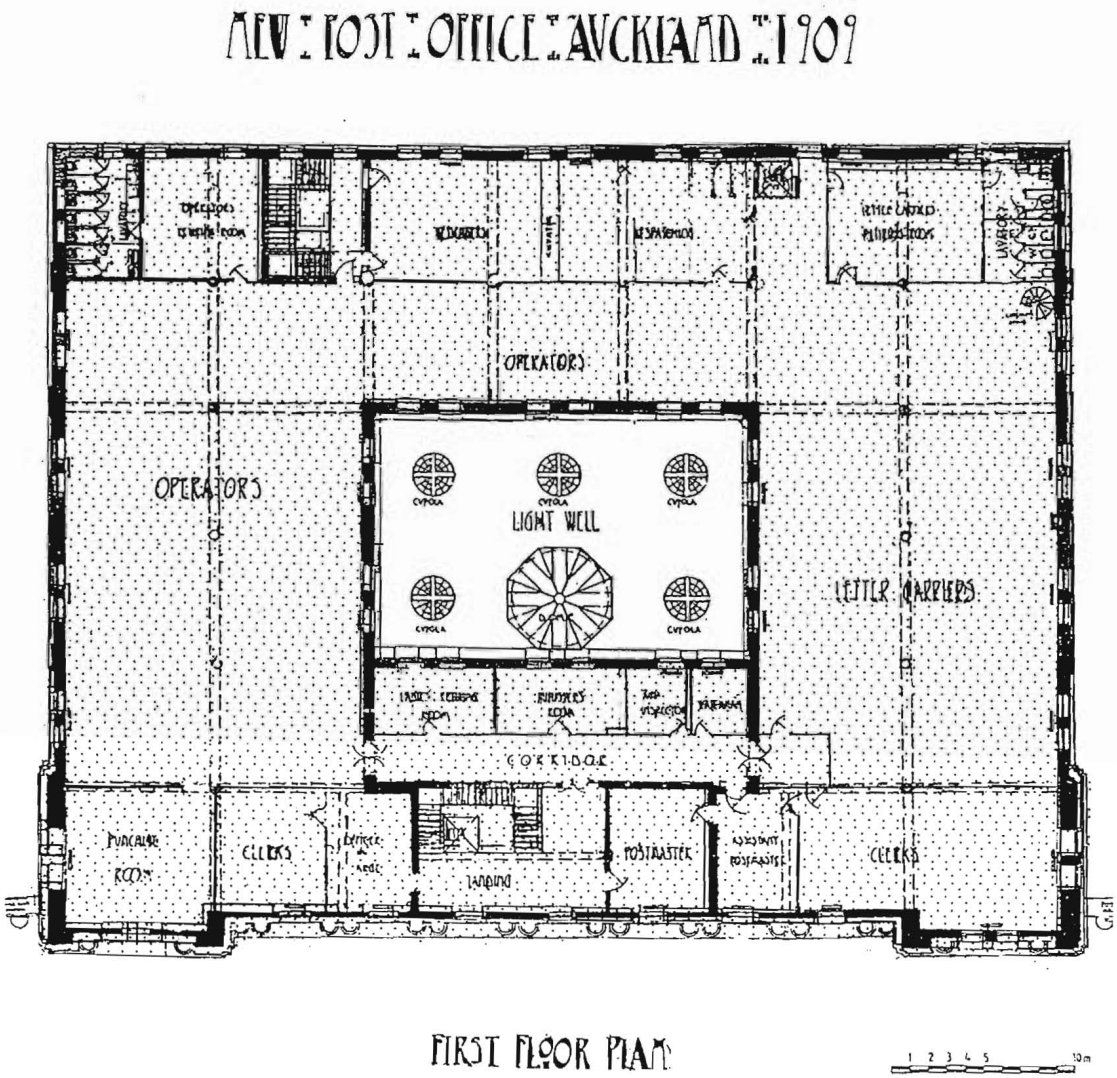
134. J. Campbell & L. L. Richards, Public Trust Head Office, Wellington (1906-9).



135. J. Campbell & L. L. Richards, Public Trust Head Office, Wellington (1906-9).

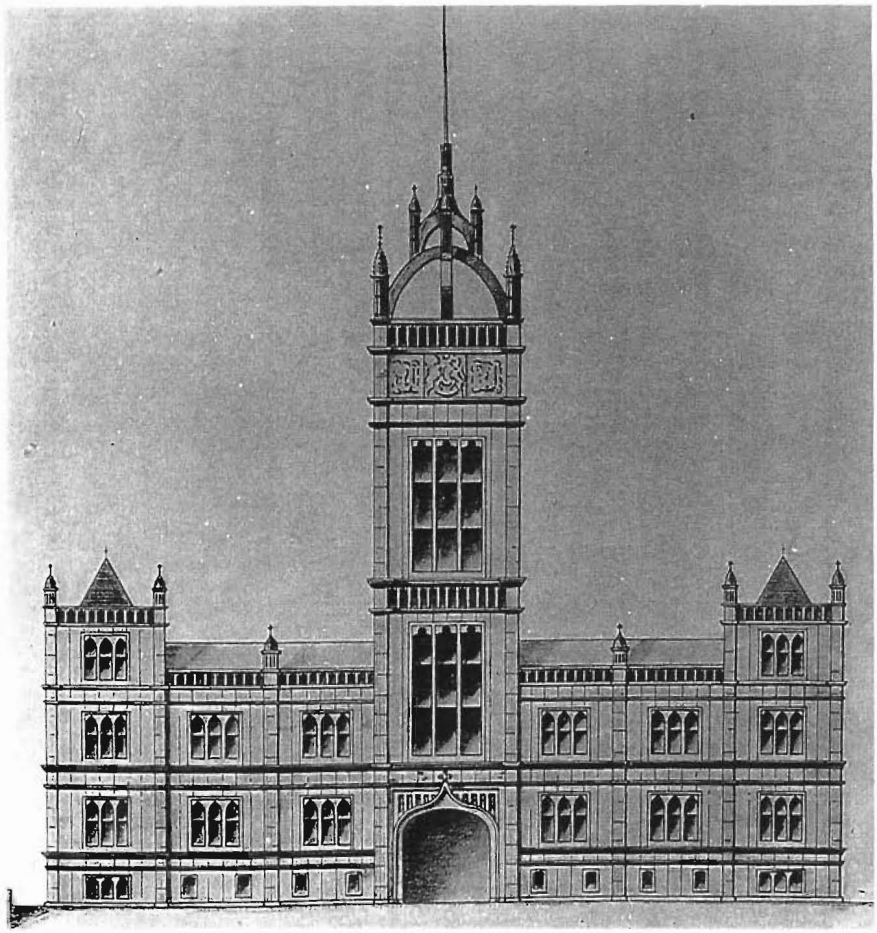
136. J. Campbell & C. E. Paton, Chief Post Office, Auckland (1909-12).

137. J. Campbell & C. E. Paton, General Post Office, Wellington (1909-12).

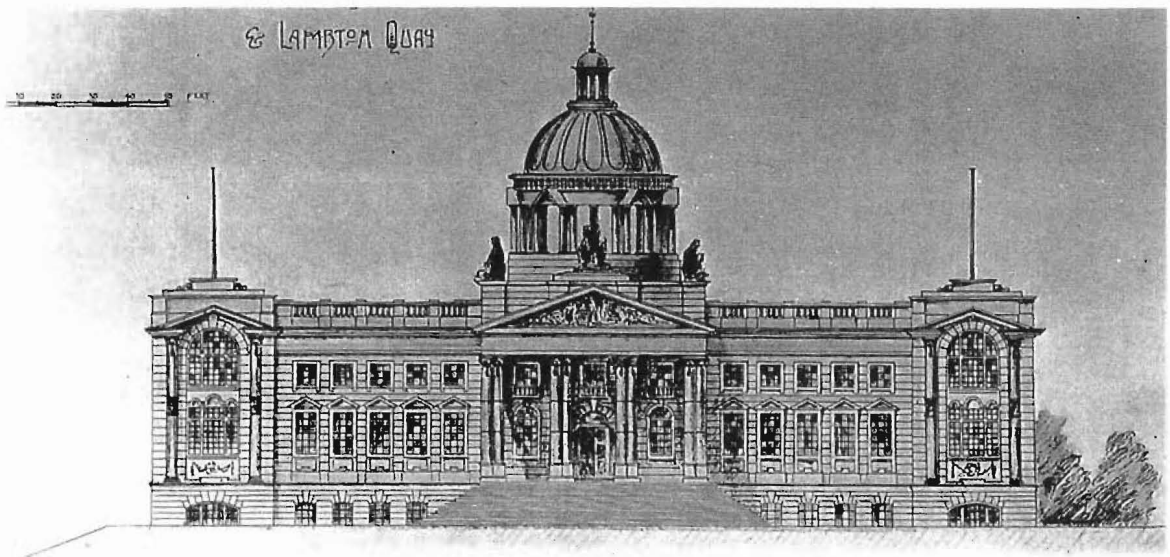


138. J. Campbell, First Floor Plan, Auckland Post Office (1909).

139. J. Campbell, Wellington Police Station (1914-7).

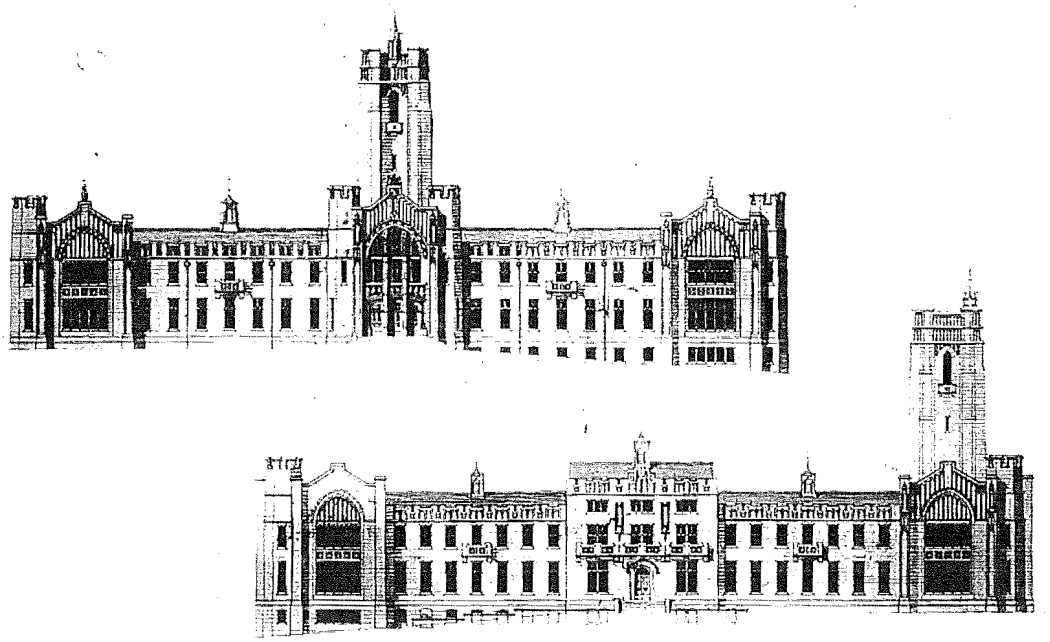


140. J. Campbell, Sketch of Proposed Elevation to Molesworth Street, Project for Reconstructed Gothic Parliament Buildings (1908).

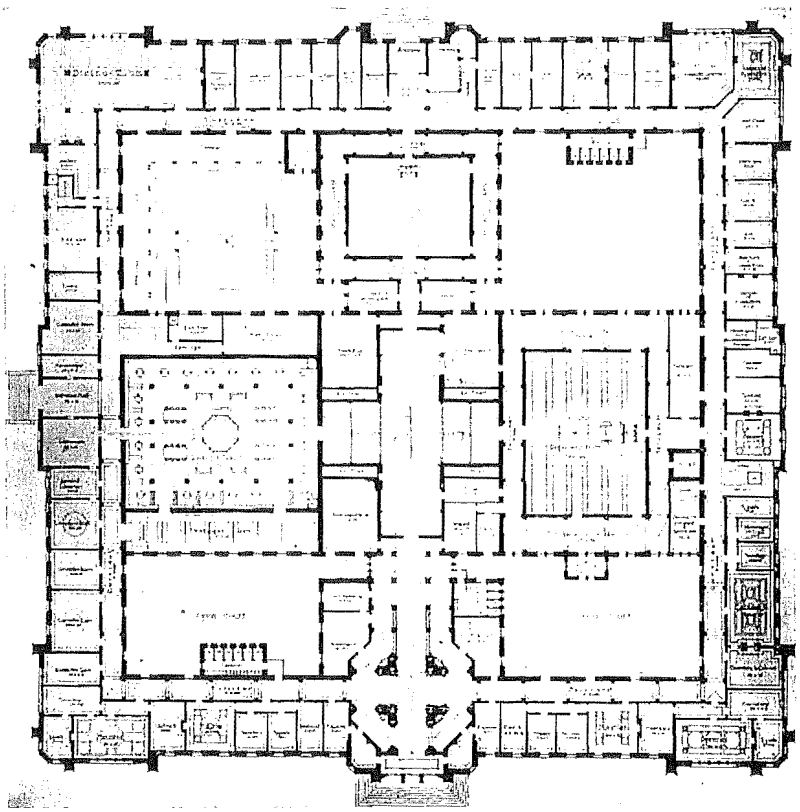


141. J. Campbell, Sketch of Proposed Elevation to Charlotte Street and Lambton Quay, Project for Parliament Buildings on Government House site (1908).

142. J. Campbell & C. E. Paton, Government House, Wellington (1908-10).

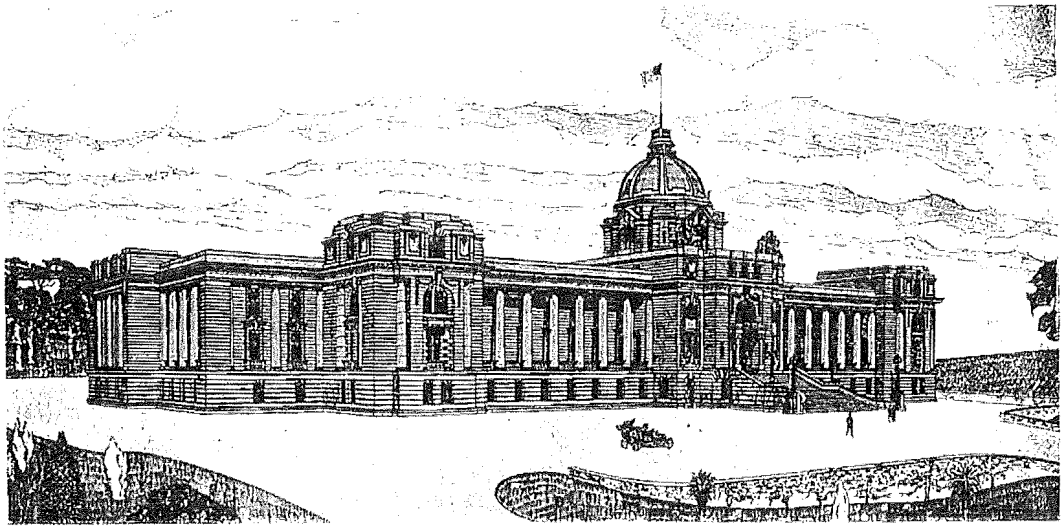


ELEVATIONS

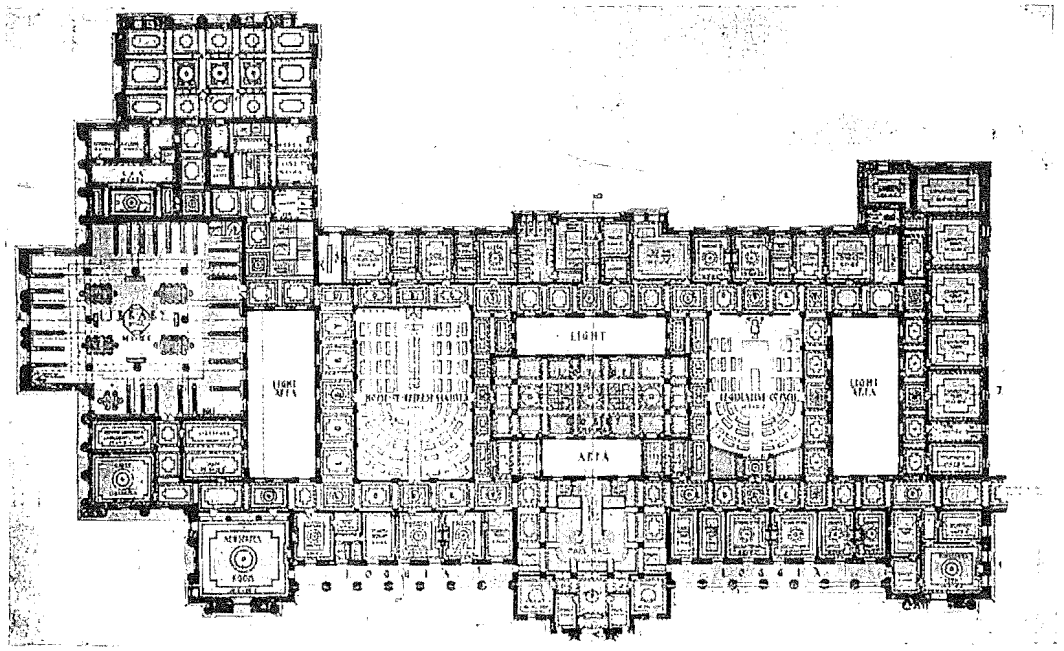


GROUND FLOOR PLAN

143. G. A. Troup & W. Gray Young, Elevations & Ground Floor Plan, Competition Entry for new Parliament Buildings (1911).

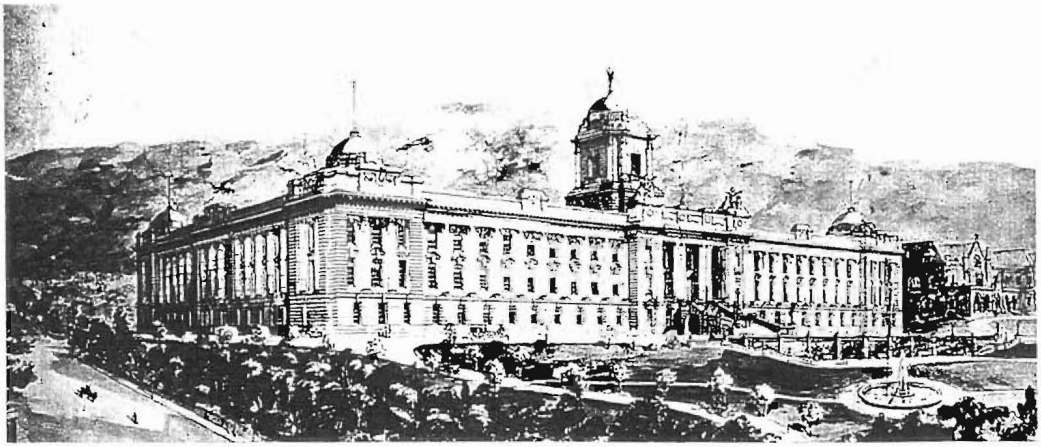


PERSPECTIVE SKETCH

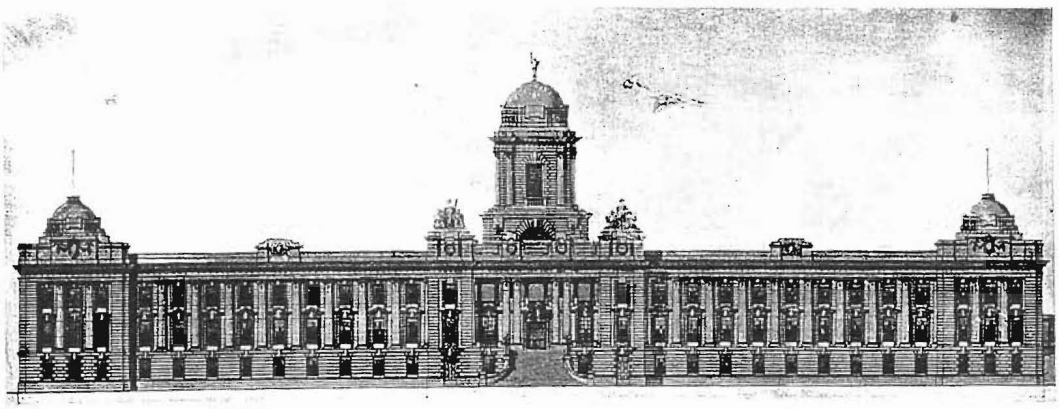


PRINCIPAL FLOOR PLAN

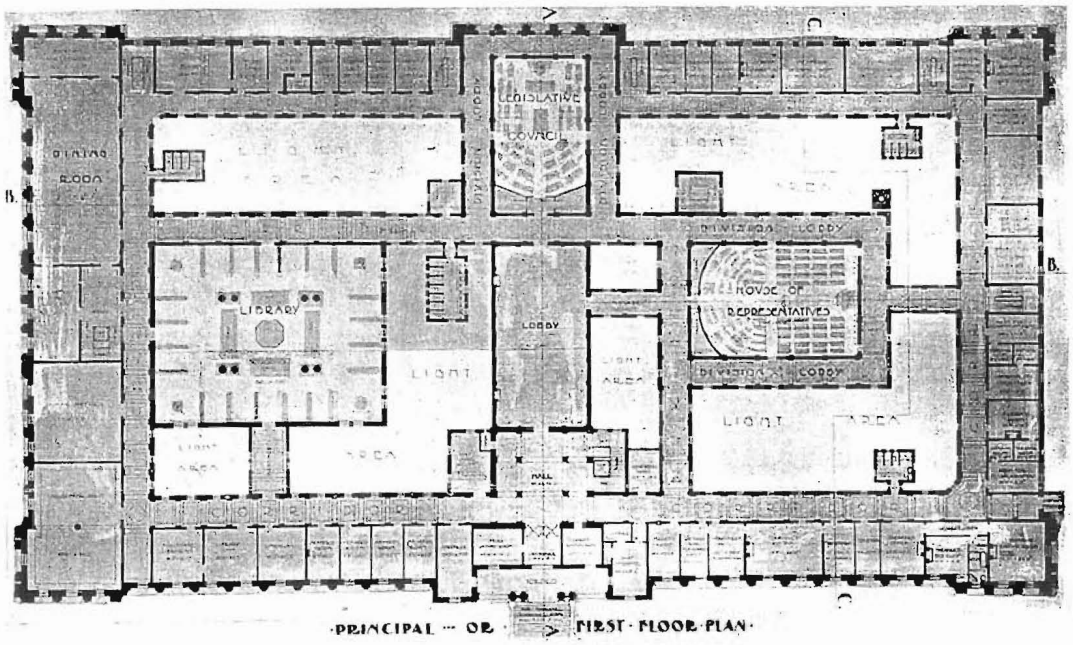
144. J. Campbell (attrib.) & C. E. Paton, Perspective & Principal Floor Plan, Winning Competition Entry for new Parliament Buildings (1911).



PERSPECTIVE

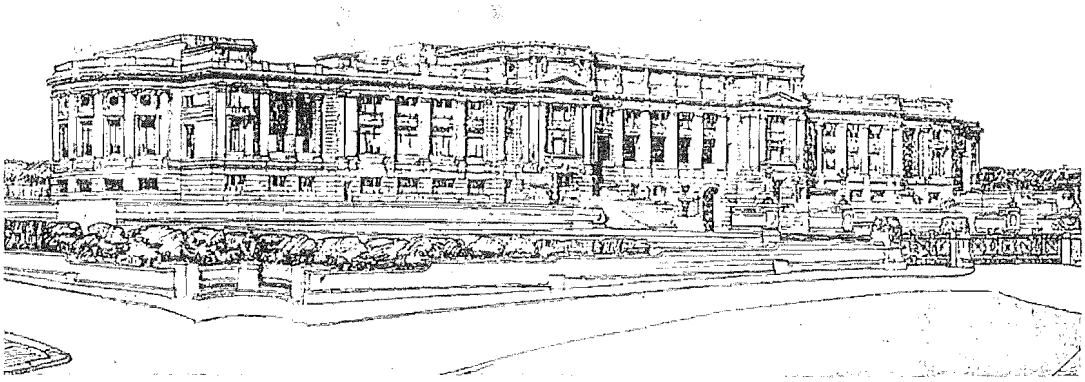


EAST ELEVATION

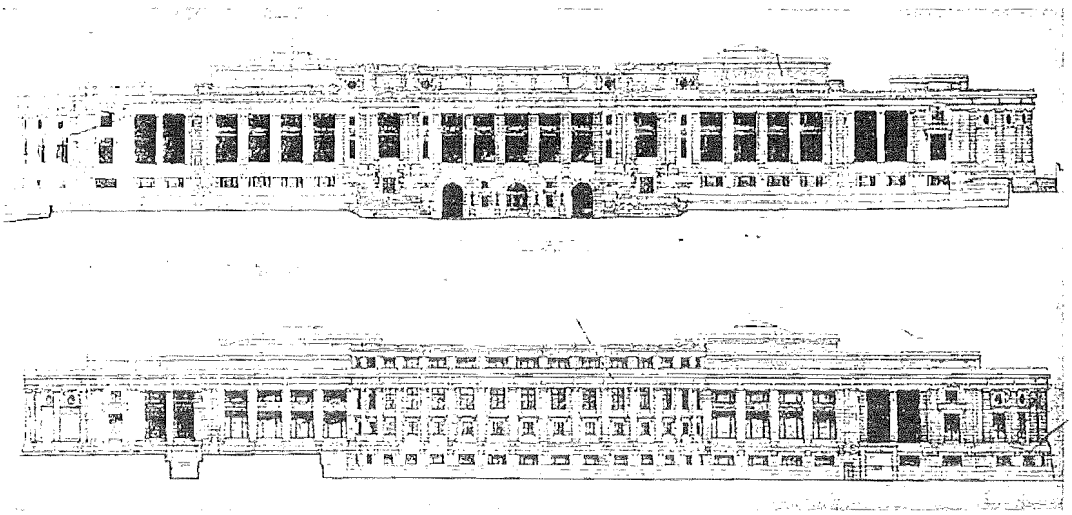


PRINCIPAL — OR — FIRST FLOOR PLAN

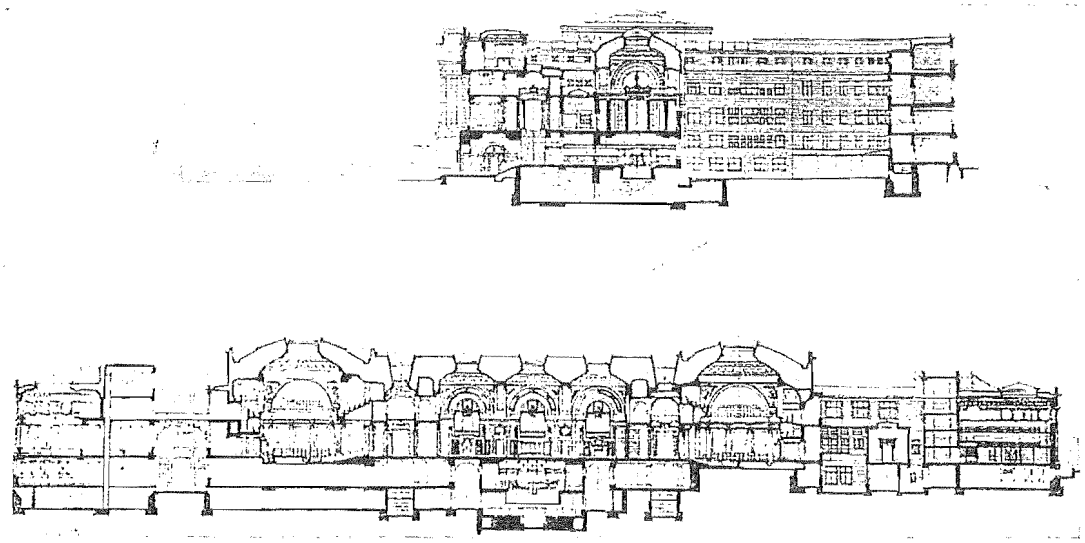
145. J. Campbell & C. A. Lawrence, Elevations and First Floor Plan, Competition Entry for new Parliament Buildings (1911).



PERSPECTIVE SKETCH

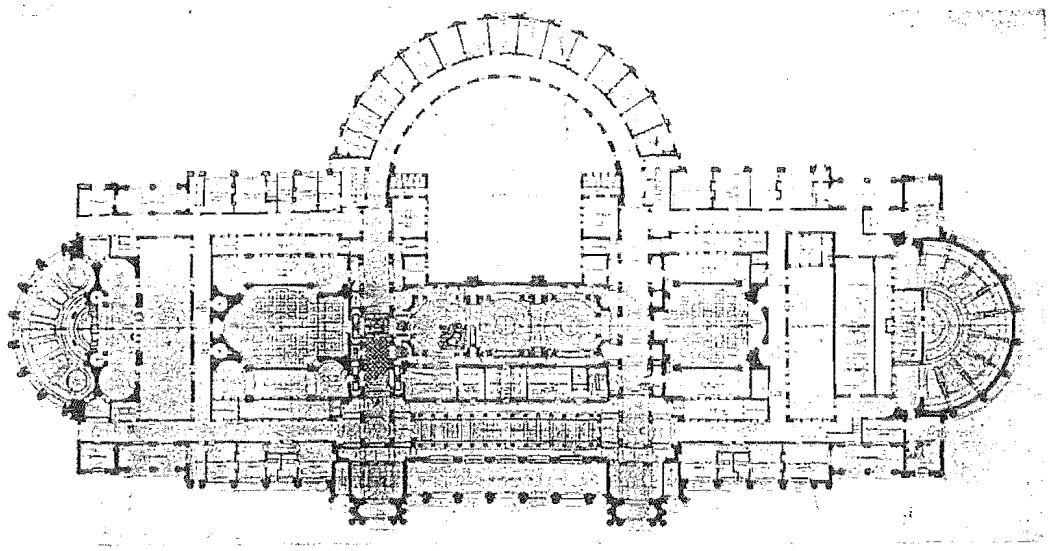


FRONT AND WEST ELEVATIONS

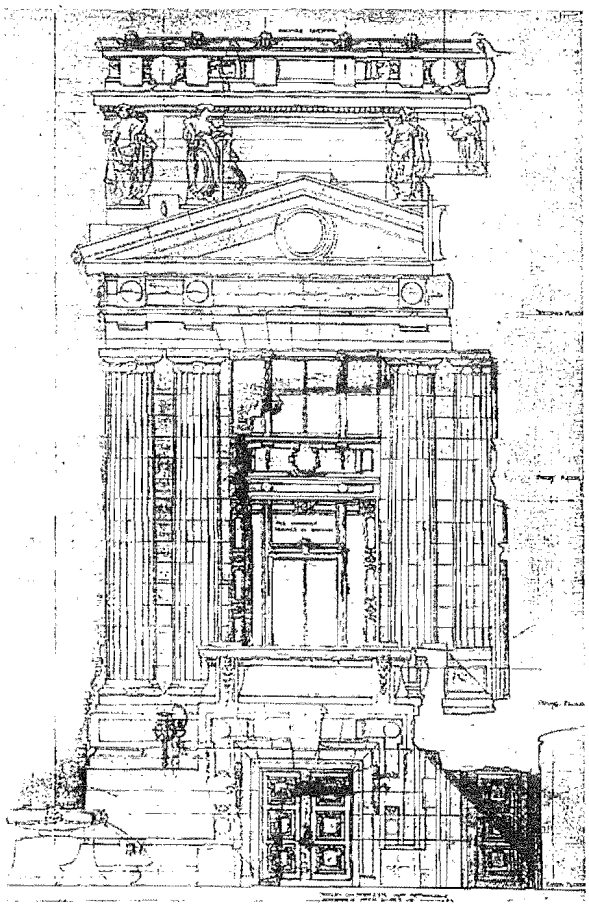


SECTIONS

146. W. H. Gummer, Elevations & Cross Sections, Competition Entry for new Parliament Buildings (1911).

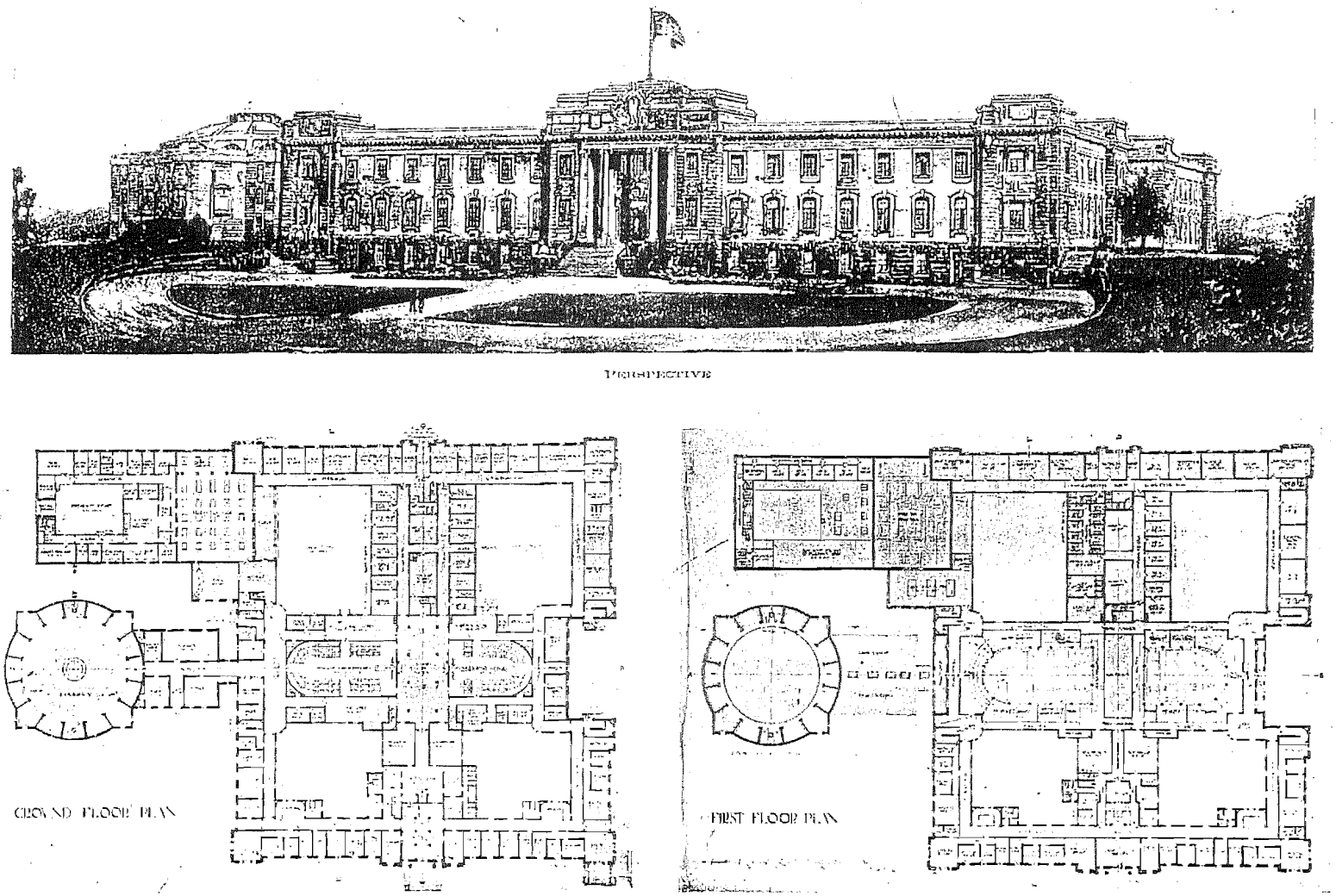


PRINCIPAL FLOOR PLAN

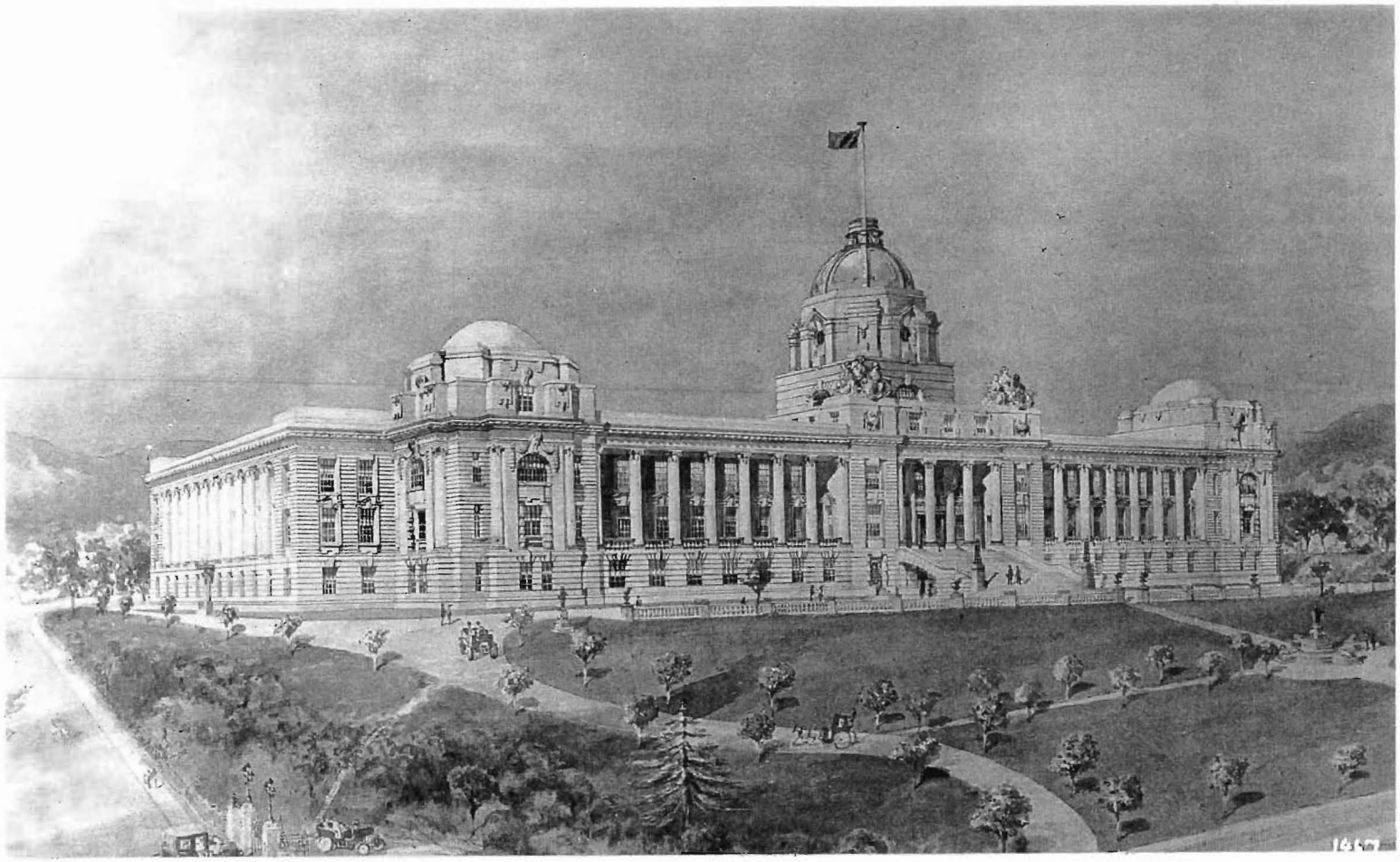


DETAIL OF PORTION OF FACADE

147. W. H. Gummer, Principal Floor PLan and Detail of Facade, Competition Entry for new Parliament Buildings (1911).



148. S. Hurst Seager & G. A. J. Hart, Perspective and Floor Plans, Competition Entry for new Parliament Buildings (1911).



149. J. Campbell & C. E. Paton, Perspective (Drawn by Harold Matthewman), Final Design for Parliament Buildings (1911).

150. View of Lambton Quay, Wellington (1905), showing the Government Printing Office (1886-8, additions 1894-6), General Government Offices (1875-6), Police Station (1880-1) and Magistrate's Court (1902-3).